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ART. I.—THE MODERN NOVEL.

British Novelists and their Styles: Being a Critical Sketch of the History of British Prose Fiction. By DAVID MASSON, M. A., Author of the "Life and Times of John Milton." Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859.

LITERATURE, like everything in the dominions of fashion, is perpetually changing and renewing its forms. Its present tendencies are obviously toward the lighter of the forms in which, in past times, it has appeared, and accordingly a largely increased prominence has within a few years been given to the prose fiction. This is seen not only in an enlarged demand for works of fiction, but, as a cause of that demand, in the accession to the class of novel-readers of a large number of persons not formerly found among them; and further, as both cause and effect of this, in the production and publication of a superior class of novels. Formerly, and for good and sufficient reasons, that whole class of books was proscribed as of evil tendency, and parents and teachers careful of the morals of their charges, sedulously excluded from their reading all "novels" as deadly moral poisons; and earnest men and women, who believed that life has higher purposes than the pleasures of the hour, thought they had more important matters on hand than "novel-reading." We speak of this not to their reproach but praise; for such was the prevailing character of that class of literature from the restoration of the Stuarts to the present century, that the only safe course to be taken with it was to abstain entirely from it. In the hands of Scott fictions assumed a new character, and from his time they have enjoyed a better reputation, which has steadily advanced, and been confirmed by the many modern contributions to its stores, till at

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length the novel occupies a prominent and highly important position in the literature of the age.

The appearance, just at this time, of such a volume as that of Mr. Masson is highly opportune, for literature is among its own chief subjects, whether in the department of history or of criticism. We may also congratulate the public that this needed work has been undertaken by one so entirely competent to do it justice, though our gratulations are somewhat limited by the fact that the writer's designs stopped very far short of a complete survey of his subject. Those who are acquainted with his "Life and Times of Milton" (of which only the first of two volumes has been published) need no further assurance of his fitness for such discussions as an exhaustive treatment of his theme would require, and this specimen of his ability in that speciality would be gladly accepted by the public as a pledge of something more perfect in reserve. The volume is a small duodecimo of a little more than three hundred pages, made up of four lectures, originally delivered as such, and afterward enlarged by fuller statements and more copious illustrations, and published in the form of a book. The style is pure and perspicuous, the range of subjects comprehensive, and the disquisitions and criticisms at once exact and appreciative. In taste and moral tone the book is all that the most fastidious or scrupulous can desire, and altogether it is a valuable contribution to the current literature. So much we here wish to say of the book which we make the nominal subject of this essay; we propose, however, to write of its subject rather than of itself, and so politely hand it to a convenient place upon the table, to be used only as it may aid in our further discussions.

The awkward formality of defining the subject in hand seems in this case to be a necessity, that it may be understood what we include under the general title of "the novel." Here too we are sorry, for once, to differ with our author as to the proper significance of that term. He distributes all literature into three departments, "History, Philosophy, and Poetry," giving as a synonym of poetry "the Literature of Imagination," and so embracing the Prose Fiction in the last category. To this we object not as philosophically incorrect, but as an infelicitous arrangement, and not sufficiently obvious. Poetry in such a classification must be recognized by its form, and so not distinguished from *verse*. Fictions have, indeed, often worn that dress, and some of the noblest productions of poetical genius have been fictions. But as there is much poetry that does not embody fiction, and much fictitious writing that cannot be called poetry, it seems not wise to include the

two in a common class. With verse, whether dealing with fiction or otherwise, we have no concern just now; our subject is Prose Fiction, and to that we would confine our attention. Here, too, we find further need to discriminate so as to exclude certain forms of fiction from our class. *Æsop's Fables* are fictions, and so, many believe, are the parables of the New Testament; still they are not novels, even in miniature. So of the stories of classical mythology, and even the "plots" of dramatic productions; and so we may add of the long-drawn allegories, in which the true purpose of the discourse is readily seen through a thin veil of fictitious imagery.

A novel is a fictitious story, designed primarily to please, either as a present amusement or by the interest it awakens in the reader in behalf of the persons and actions of the tale. Other purposes may be aimed at incidentally and without apparent design; but to please should seem to be the governing object, to which everything should be made subservient. It is accordingly first of all necessary that the reader should become acquainted with and concerned for the chief actors in the plot, and to secure this these should be characters in whom one may become interested. It is therefore one of the requisites of a novel that its chief characters shall be both great and virtuous. And since one seldom becomes much concerned for those whose affairs glide along quietly, it is usually required that the hero or heroine should be led through a maze of perplexities, the changing phases of which, and his struggles and conflicts, hopes and despondencies in them, make up the tale; and that it may please as a whole, the issue should be fortunate. Still further, since some degree of passionate emotion is a condition of pleasing excitement, the story must be conducted in such a way as to move and excite the desired passions in the reader. Different kinds of emotions are no doubt best suited to different classes of readers, and the writer must make his selection of the class to which he will address himself, and adapt himself to them, even at the risk of failing to please all others; but since nearly all minds are pleased by contemplating most forms of mental excitement, the range of the novelist's movements is not necessarily a circumscribed one.

Historically, fiction is among the oldest forms of the literature of every nation and people. In nearly all cases it has entered largely into the matter of the heroic songs and stories that universally distinguish the nascent literature of nations. In the unformed states of society the common mind is highly imaginative, and impatient of the rigid restraints of historic reality, and therefore it demands the more gorgeous creations of fiction. The proper prose fiction, however, finds a place only among the productions of a matured civiliza-

tion, and then it honestly confesses the unreality of its statements. And as in the infancy of society its literature is always legendary, so in its more advanced stages fictions have been found in the literature of all nationalities, though, on account of its more perishable character, less of that kind of writing than of most others is transmitted to later times. The literature of the Hebrews, though they were a remarkably unimagined people, is not wholly destitute of it. The book of Job, even if based on facts as to its narrative portions, is evidently imaginary as to its dramatic dialogues. The Canticles are at best an allegorical prophecy; and some would call the book a pure poetical fiction. In the non-canonical Scriptures we have the book of *Judith*, believed by the best critics and commentators to be a pure fiction, and one, too, wholly reckless of the proprieties of times and places. In the literature of both Greece and Rome fictions first appeared in the form of verse, of which the poems of Homer are the most notable, though the fables of early Roman history are scarcely less characteristic. From the early legendary epics the fiction of the classical languages passed over to the ode, and thence to the drama, from which the passage to the prose fiction was both natural and easy.

The genesis of the prose fiction among the ancients was regular and well defined. In the earlier stages of their national growth, their fictions usually wore the livery of verse. First came their heroic songs and epics, and after these more artificial dramas, indicating an advanced stage of culture, and not until the national character had passed the culminating point did the prose fiction appear. In the literature of the Jews it belonged to the latter days of the local national existence of that people. Among the Greeks it did not appear till as late as the third Christian century; while with the Romans, whose culture never equaled that of the Greeks, it showed itself a century before. Of these later Greek and Latin novels Mr. Masson aptly remarks:

"When we look into the works themselves we can see that, by their nature, they belong to an age when the polytheistic system of society was in its decrepitude. They are, most of them, stories of the adventures of lovers, carried away by pirates, or otherwise separated by fate, thrown from city to city of the Mediterranean coast, in each of which they see strange sights of sorcery and witchcraft; are present at religious processions, private festivals, crucifixions, and the like; become entangled in crimes and intrigues, and have hairbreadth escapes from horrible dens of infamy; sometimes were changed by magic into beasts; but at last reunited, and made happy by some sudden and extraordinary series of coincidences. There is a force of genius in some of them, and they are interesting historically as illustrating the state of society toward the close of the Roman empire; but the general impression which they leave is stifling, and even appalling, as of a world shattered into fragments, the air over each inhabited fragment stagnant and pestilential,

and healthy motion nowhere, save in some inland spots of grassy solitude, and in the breezes that blow over the separating bits of sea. One of the most curious features of them, as compared with the earlier classic poetry, is the more important social influence they assign to the passion of love, and consequently the more minute attention they bestow on the psychology of that passion, and the increased liberty of speech and action they give to women. Another particular in which they differ from the earlier Greek and Latin works of fiction is the more minute, and as we might say, more modern style in which they describe physical objects, and especially scenery. This is most observable in the Greek romances. It is as if the sense of the picturesque in scenery then began to appear more strongly than before in literature. In the *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus, which is a sweet pastoral romance of the single Island of Lesbos, there are descriptions of the varying aspects and the rural labors of the seasons, such as we find in the modern pastoral poems.—Pp. 45, 6.

With the moderns, after the revival of learning, the course of things was similar to that just noticed, but distinguished by characteristic differences. The ancients proceeded without the aid of either models or precedents, inventing their own modes and processes; but the restorers of learning in Europe enjoyed the advantages afforded them by the still extant works of their predecessors. Before the twelfth century there was very little literature in any of the modern European tongues, while in the Byzantine Empire there still lingered the remains of the effete Greek culture, in the form of a feeble prose fiction, chiefly occupied with religious legends; and further East, in the empire of the Caliphs, there was a more robust form of fiction, of which the famous "Thousand and One Nights" remains a living specimen and enduring monument. A kind of fiction is, indeed, found in the ecclesiastical Latin of the middle ages, "The Lives of the Saints;" but these are rather forgeries than proper fictions, for while mere fabrications they purport to be veritable histories; and whether considered as histories or as literary compositions, they are alike deserving of no respect. At its first revival modern European literature took the form of verse, but passed rapidly into prose writings. In Italy, after the popular mind had been thoroughly aroused by the poetry of Dante and Petrarch, Boccaccio (1313-1375) brought in the prose fiction, arrayed in all the charms of the style of his great predecessors, originating at once a type of the novel which flourished for nearly two hundred years, till superseded by the Italian pastoral romance. Spain was at that time, and later, pre-eminently the land of romance and of a nascent romantic literature. The wars of the Goths and the Moors supplied abundant subjects for heroic and legendary stories which, first rehearsed in verse, at length took the form of prose. Knight-errantry was their all-pervading theme, of which the national mind seemed incapable of wearying, till the whole subject culminated and exploded in Cervantes' Don Quixote.

During the same period in France, the prose fiction, though apparently less favored by circumstances, had steadily advanced, and a hundred years earlier, in the works of Rabelais, it reached a degree of perfection that it has scarcely surpassed to the present day.

English history, literary as well as political, dates from the Norman conquest, and its literature springs from the Norman rather than the Saxon root. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries England supplied to Europe a large share of the famous *Trouveurs*, or Norman Minstrels, and their species of literature became fairly naturalized in that island, giving a character to its literature, traces of which remain to the present in the old chronicles, and especially the *Mort d'Arthur*, itself the monument and storehouse of the older Anglo-Norman literature, and the fountain from which was drawn most of the literature of England during the next two hundred years.

Toward the close of this period, when English literature had been somewhat modified as well as enriched by English translations of Boccaccio and Cervantes, an original type of prose fiction appeared in England, led on by Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, the Latin edition in 1516, and the English in 1551. In that work, "under the guise of a description of the imaginary island of *Utopia*, given in conversation by one Raphael Hythoday, a seafaring man, 'well stricken in age, with a black, sunburnt face and long beard,' to whom More is supposed to be introduced in the city of Antwerp, we have a philosophical exposition of More's own views respecting the constitution and economy of a state, and of his opinions on education, marriage, the military system, and the like." In this work its accomplished author evidently availed himself of the examples in the same field of both Plato and Cicero. The effect of that work upon the popular mind of England was immediate and strongly marked, and most evidently salutary. It also proved to be the first-born of a family of English prose fictions of rare excellence, as to both matter and style; among others Bacon's *Atlantis*, Barclay's *Argenis*, Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Boyle's *Parthenissa*. The confessed allegorical character of these fictions, and their liberal use of the ideal, may have prepared the way for Bunyan's great religious allegories. Of this there could be no doubt, but for the prevalent notion that Bunyan was almost wholly illiterate, a notion probably somewhat exaggerated by both his friends and enemies, from different motives. The relations of his writings to the literature of the times are obvious and legitimate, and beyond a doubt the writer was sufficiently conversant with the prevailing taste to become, perhaps unconsciously, influenced by it.

Bunyan and Milton mark a transition stage in the literature of their country, in which the idealism of the older novelists blended with the stern and simpler faith of the Puritans. But they were not in sympathy with their generation, and their works were not at once appreciated. A new dispensation had come in, not more in religion and government than in literature, and the whole spirit of the age was unfriendly to legitimate fiction. The literature of the period of the Restoration (1660-1688) is materialistic and not ideal, sensuous and superficial rather than imaginative and introspective. The mind of the age was occupied with thoughts and interests relating to things tangible and material, rather than upon matters of taste and esthetic forms and properties. Poetry still survived, but it was little more than the metrically faultless but artificial vehicle of wit, sentiment, and criticism. The drama became almost exclusively broad comedy, and the character of Dryden, as drawn by Macaulay, whether just to its subject or not, is doubtless a truthful portraiture of the character of the age. Prose fictions almost wholly disappeared, and during those thirty dismal years the annals of English literature contains only the name of *Aphra Behn* in that department, a writer whose inconsiderable novellettes would have been unsufficient to give her name to posterity from any other age; and she too belonged to the voluptuous and sensualistic school of her own times rather than to either the earlier or later races of novelists.

The revival of the legitimate prose fiction occurred near the beginning of the eighteenth century, under the auspices of Swift and Defoe, the former a violent political partisan and bitter satirist, and the latter a humble man of letters, endowed with a peculiarly happy genius for story-telling. These two writers were the harbingers of a new era in English literature, and after them, extending over the greater part of the eighteenth century, came a large and varied class of writers in almost every department of letters. The list of the poets of that age is especially a long one, and its names are suggestive of great variety in both their character and relative excellence. Its prose writers, both religious and secular, are those who have given form and character to the literature of the English tongue, of whom no inconsiderable portion were writers of fiction; for, besides those just named, we find on the list the names of Addison and Steele, Johnson and Goldsmith, who occasionally wrote fictions, and Richardson, Fielding, Smollet, and Sterne, who are distinguished, *par excellence*, as novelists. Of the prose fictions of that age Mr. Masson remarks:

"The new British prose fiction which came into being near the beginning of the century, in the works of Swift and Defoe, was one of the most notable

manifestations of the increasing sufficiency of prose generally. There had been already in Britain the Arthurian prose romance, with its wondrous ideality, the grotesque and facetious tales of the chap-books, and the Utopian or political romance, the wearisome Arcadian romance or pastoral heroic, the still more prolix romance of modernized classic heroism, the unique romance of Bunyan, and also, to some extent, the novel of French and Italian gallantry; but here was a kind of fiction which, whatever it might lack in comparison with its predecessors, grasps contemporary life with a firmer hold, at a thousand points simultaneously, and arrested more firmly the daily forms of human interest."—P. 97.

We also add our author's characterization of these two great pioneers of modern prose fiction, in preference to anything we might write; and first of Swift:

"Indubitably one of the most robust minds of his age, Swift, in the first place, went wholly along with his age, nay, tore it along with him faster than it could decorously go, in its renunciation of romance and all 'the sublimities.' He, a surpliced priest, (as Rabelais had also been,) a commissioned expositor of things not seen, *was* an expositor of things not seen; but it was of those things that are unseen because they have to be dug for down in the concealing earth, and not of those that fill the upward azure, and tremble by their very nature beyond the sphere of vision. The age, for him, was still too full of the cant of older beliefs preserved in the guise of 'respectabilities;' and to help to clear it of this he would fix its gaze on its own roots, and on the physical roots of human nature in general, down in the disgusting and the reputedly bestial."—P. 98.

Of Defoe he writes still more graphically:

"In the main, as all know, he drew upon his knowledge of low English life, framing imaginary histories of thieves, courtesans, and buccaneers, and the like, of the kind to suit a coarse popular taste. He was a great reader, and a tolerable scholar, and he may have taken the hint of his method from the Spanish picturesque novel, as Swift adopted his from Rabelais. On the whole, however, it was his own robust sense of reality that led him to his style. There is none of the sly humor of the foreign picturesque novel in his representations of an English ragamuffin life; there is nothing of allegory, poetry, or even of didactic purpose; all is hard, prosaic, and matter of fact, as in newspaper paragraphs, or the passages of the Newgate Calendar. Much of his material, indeed, may have been furnished by his recollections of occurrences, or by actual reports and registers; but it is evident that no man ever possessed a stronger imagination of that kind which, a situation being conceived, teems with circumstances in exact keeping with it. . . . This minuteness of imagined circumstances and filling up, this power of fiction in fac-simile of nature is Defoe's unfailing characteristic. Lord Chatham is said to have taken the *History of a Cavalier* for a true biography; and the *Account of the Plague in London* is still read by many under a similar delusion. . . . Defoe's matchless power of inventing circumstantial incidents made him more a master even of its poetical capabilities than the rarest poet then living could have been; and now that all round our globe there is not an unknown island left, we still reserve in our mental charts one such island with the sea breaking round it, and we would part any day with ten of the heroes of antiquity rather than with Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday."—Pp. 103-5.

After Swift and Defoe had both passed from the public stage—the former to a madhouse, and the latter to his grave—a new class

of novelists and a new style of novel appeared. In 1740 Richardson published *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, the pioneer of the new school of prose fictions. Richardson was then nearly sixty years old, a careful and moderately successful man of business, who now became an author, rather as an amateur than professionally. With the confession of the wish that he "might possibly turn young people into a course of reading different from the pomp and parade of romance writing, and, dismissing the improbable and marvelous with which novels generally abound, might tend to promote the cause of religion and virtue," he detailed the story of a poor, but virtuous young woman, who, sorely tried, struggles successfully against temptation, and at length gains more by her constancy than was offered as the price of her shame. The story was natural and inartistic in its form and structure, lying wholly within the sphere of the *possible* and seldom transgressing the limits of the *probable*—characteristics which distinguished it from most of the older fictions, and made it the vanguard of a coming host. The estimates of Richardson's writings in his own times (for he became a somewhat voluminous writer) were exceedingly various. Some extolled them as rivaling Shakspeare's in their delineation of character, and in their power over the passions. Others compared them unfavorably with those of Cervantes and Le Sage, and censured them as failing to give truthful views of life and manners, and tending to develop an unhealthy form of character. As to their ostentatiously declared purpose, "to promote religion and virtue," it was contended that they especially failed, for they so portrayed vice as to only partially expose its baseness, while its allurements were set forth in their most seductive forms. Their style answered to their matter, for it was flimsy in its texture, and lacked manly dignity and force; but it was attractive by reason of its recklessness of forced conventionalities, and by its easy earnestness. Still it would be unjust to deny that Richardson had many strong points as a writer of fiction; but these were so mingled with obvious faults and weaknesses that few writers have been more severely handled by the critics. Into his new field Richardson was soon followed by Fielding, both as a personal and a literary rival, more than one of whose works were parodies or burlesques upon those of his predecessor, whose "sickly morality" was especially disgusting to that roystering young writer. "*The Adventures of Joseph Andrews*" was a caricatured parody upon *Pamela*, designed to turn to ridicule its moral lessons; and *Tom Jones* carried to still greater lengths that kind of rollicking wickedness that pleased the coarse wits of the age, among whom Fielding was a kind of oracle. Unlike as these two writers appeared, they never-

theless belonged to a common class, and were unconsciously fellow-laborers in giving a new form of prose fiction. Smollett soon after followed in the same path, and by his various productions, especially his *Roderick Random* and *Peregrine Pickle*, he aided in establishing more firmly the new style of novel, as well as still more deeply stamping its moral depravity and corrupting tendencies. Soon after him, to complete the quaternion, came Lawrence Sterne, a Yorkshire clergyman, and author of *Tristram Shandy* and the *Sentimental Journey*, a writer of a still more positively corrupting influence—notwithstanding the sacred office he occupied—and also more sprightly and vivacious than any of his associates, and excelling all of them in both sentiment and philosophy. These four celebrated authors agreed in so many points in which they differed from most earlier writers of fiction, that they constituted a new school of novelists, and inaugurated a new, and, it should be added, an improved style of the novel, as to its intellectual and esthetic character, though, unhappily, the same cannot be said of its moral tendencies. Still each of them maintained his own individuality, and marked his productions with his personal idiosyncracies. Richardson's novels were of the kind of writing sometimes styled namby-pamby, full of whining sentimentalisms and feeble attempts at smartness; yet they contained many good thoughts, and were so direct and natural in style and manner that in spite of criticism they compelled the reader to like them and to respect their author. His profession of a design to improve the manners and morals of his readers was a great blunder, as very likely to defeat that purpose. People who really wish to be taught these things are not apt to go to novels for them, and those who read novels for amusement are not pleased to be told in advance that there is a scheme to wheedle them into goodness; and without at all questioning the sincerity of his purpose, it must be conceded that the virtue he inculcates is not of the highest kind, nor altogether above suspicion. Fielding, on the contrary, was distinguished for a kind of joyous recklessness of both manner and results, and there was a vigor and freshness in his writings that charmed all who were not repelled by their gross immoralities; "a cheerful, sunshiny, breezy spirit," says Coleridge, "that prevails everywhere, strongly contrasted with the close, hothouse, dreamy continuity of Richardson." Smollett was as grossly immoral as Fielding, and vastly his inferior in keenness, vivacity, and humor, though, perhaps, his equal in a kind of blunt and outspoken forcibleness. Respecting the requirements of the new style of writing which they were jointly bringing into vogue, both Fielding and Smollett seem to have had more adequate conceptions

than Richardson. Here Mr. Masson may again be allowed to speak:

"For both Fielding and Smollett it may be allowed that their novels fulfilled, more completely than Richardson's, in respect of the variety of their contents, that definition of the novel which demands that it should, whether serious or comic, be the prose counterpart of the epic. They are, as regards superficial extent of matter, more nearly the comic prose epics of their time than Richardson's are of its serious prose epics. In each of them there is a love story threading the incidents together; but to the right and to the left of this story, and all along its course, interrupting it, and all but obliterating it, are fragments of miscellaneous British life, or even European life, humorously represented. There are varying breadths of landscape; characters of all kinds come in; interests of all kinds are recognized; the reader is not perpetually on the rack in watching the feelings of the hero and the heroine, but is entertained with continual episodes, rambles, and social allusions."—Pp. 135, 6.

This school of fiction was especially distinguished from all that has preceded it by its naturalness—its realism, as contradistinguished from the idealism hitherto almost universally present in fictions. The romances of all former times had dealt more or less freely in matters outside of the real or probable—things that are still allowed and approved in some kinds of poetry. The new novel discarded all these, and presented as its characters simply men and women endowed with only the common traits of our every-day humanity. By this there is made a broad line of demarkation between the older *Romances* and the modern *Novel*, and the latter is by its own character enjoined from transgressing the limits of the purely mundane. By the same means prose fiction is removed beyond the ground it formerly occupied in common with poetry, and brought into a very intimate relationship to philosophical history, though poetry has followed it into its new field, and some of the most esteemed modern poems are only novels in verse. As an enterprise, the new prose fiction was eminently successful; it largely increased the number of readers of fictions, and by its more remote influences it multiplied the number of novel writers to supply the public demand, while the press labored with unprecedented activity, and books were made and sold at unheard of low prices. The period from 1770 to 1790 teemed with novelists, many of them mere pretenders, whose works enjoyed but an ephemeral existence; but others there were whose works are still read, and whose names occupy honorable positions in the history of literature. But the cycle of that school of fiction terminated before the end of the century; the coming on of the French Revolution (in 1789) gave a new direction to the public mind, which called for a different order of reading-matter, and the novel was thrown into the back ground, though not then entirely neglected. This subsidence near the close of the last cen-

tury, and extending over the first decade of the present, prepared things for the incoming of a new form of the novel which soon after occurred.

In any sketch, however brief, of the British novel, the name of Scott must occupy a prominent place, on account of his real greatness, and also of his isolation. He belonged to neither the older nor the later school of novelists, but himself constituted an entire school, "without father, without mother, without descent." To characterize him in a single phrase is impossible, for he introduced no startling novelties of either matter or style, and yet he excelled all others. His novels are stories related in a simple and natural style, just as they might have occurred, and many of them, at least in part, made up from real history. These tales, though sufficiently dignified to save them from contempt, are not specially remarkable, and do not as tales constitute the chief interest of the works, which lies rather in the embellishments, the incidents, and the style. Two forms of affection are betrayed in Scott's novels: a warm veneration for the past, or that portion of it in which his scenes are located, and a childlike love of (or rather liking for) material nature; the former directed him in the choice of his subjects, and the latter quickened his conceptions and "realized" his descriptions. He sympathized joyously and always normally with nature in her every-day aspects, and wrote from the fullness of his heart, and because he loved to see his musings clothed in visible forms; and if he looked at all to the influence his writings would have upon their readers, he seems only to have wished to impart to others some share of his own quiet enjoyments. All ulterior aims, any designs to direct the thinking of the age, or to propagate the views of any sect or party, if entertained by him at all, were so completely concealed that they have not been detected. That his writings have had such effects is not improbable; but that he intended them does not appear. This absence of ulterior aim, compensated by rare beauties of style and imagery, and just enough of sentiment and pathos to save from insipidity, and that fervid, but materialistic love of the old and the natural, constitute the great charm of Scott's novels. They are not read for instruction, but for the pleasure they afford in the reading, and for that end they have their place in the economy of life. When the overtasked mind requires not repose, but recreation, and the gentle companionship of congenial thoughts; and when neither a walk in the garden or grove, nor the sweet breathings of music are attainable, a volume of Waverley is welcomed as a friend in season. Earnest men, whether religious or worldly devotees, may deem all this a matter of small account, and think that genius misapplied

whose efforts extended only to such things; but when it is remembered that recreations are among the necessities of life, of which mankind will not be defrauded, and that most of the sources of mental recreations are reeking with poisons, the opening of these pure and perennial fountains may appear as a real benefit conferred upon the race. We again avail ourselves of our author's language, to present a just estimate of the character and genius of our present subject:

"It is the part of all poets and creative writers thus to make rich the thought of the world by additions to its stock of well-known fancies; and when we think of the quantity of Scott's creative writing, as well as of its popularity in kind; of the number of romantic stories he gave to the world, and the plenitude of vivid incidents in each; of the abundance in his novels of picturesque scenes and descriptions of nature, fit for the painter's art, and actually employing it; and, above all, of the immense multitude of characters, real and fantastic, heroic and humorous, which his novels have added to that ideal population of beings bequeathed to the world by the poetic genius of the past, and hovering round us and overhead as airy agents and companions of existence, he evidently takes his place as, since Shakspeare, the man whose contribution of material to the hereditary British imagination has been the largest and the most various. Strike out Scott, and all that has been accumulated on him by way of interest on his capital, from the British mind of the last seventy years, and how much poorer we should be! His influence is more widely diffused through certain departments of European and American literature than that of any individual writer that has recently lived; and many generations hence the tinge of that influence will still be visible."—Pp. 201-2.

Though Scott founded no school of novel writers, he gave a strong and wide impulse to that form of literature. A host of novelists sprang up after him, and contemporaneously with his later life, who, each following his own mental tendencies, or associating in groups, constituted the innumerable army of modern writers of prose fiction. Like some great river, which now forms a deep and broad lake among the mountain gorges, and again bursts forth in broad and shallow streams, so the current of fiction seemed for a time to be swallowed up by a single writer, and at length it issued forth in increased volume but widely diffused. The list of British novelists who appeared during the eighteen years in which the Waverley novels made their appearance amount to nearly forty names, comprising those of many now permanently identified with the literature of the age; and if the list be continued to the present time it will exceed a hundred of at least respectable novel writers. And during the same period our native literature has been created; and though fiction has not been the most favored style with our writers, yet American novelists compare favorably with their compeers and rivals beyond the ocean.

The statistics of new novels published in the British Islands since 1820, as ascertained from a collection in the British Museum,

is both curious and suggestive. In 1820, when the Waverly novels were at their height, there were in all twenty-six distinct productions, making an aggregate of seventy-six volumes. In 1830, when the Waverly series was nearly completed, and had produced their first effect upon the public mind, there were, within the year, one hundred and two works, amounting to two hundred and five volumes. In 1850 the yield was two hundred and ten volumes, in ninety-eight distinct works; and in 1856 eighty-eight works and two hundred and one volumes.

"Taking the data as approximately accurate they give the curious fact that the annual yield of British novels had been quadrupled by the time of Scott's death, as compared with what it had been when he was in the middle of his Waverly series, having risen from twenty-six a year, or a new novel every fortnight, to about one hundred a year, or two new novels every week; and moreover, that this proportion of about one hundred new novels, or two every week, has continued pretty steady since Scott's death, as compared with what it had been when he was in the middle of the Waverly series. . . . Making an average calculation of these facts, I find that there may have been in all about three thousand novels, counting about seven thousand separate volumes produced in these Islands since the publication of 'Waverly.'"—P. 218.

As to the practicability of any one reader keeping up with this flood of fiction, the author remarks naively:

"The thing is practicable. It is satisfactory to think that, by sticking to two novels a week, any one who chooses may, at the present rate, keep up with the velocity of the novel-producing apparatus at work among us, and not have a single novel of deficit when he balances at the year's end. *But I have not done it.* I have read a good many novels, perhaps specimens at least of all our best novels; but in what I have to say, I have no objection that you should consider me as speaking of the composition of the mass, in virtue of having inserted the testing-scoop into it at a good many points."—P. 220.

Of the numerous race of novelists (they can scarcely be called a class) who lived and wrote during the second quarter of the present century, we lack the space to remark at length; that they were both numerous and active is evinced by the statistics just given; that there were among them many powerful and finished writers will be confessed, when it is seen that on the list are such names as Theodore Hook, D'Israeli, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Samuel Warren, Douglas Jerrold, Wilson, Dickens, and Thackeray, (the last belongs rather to the last decade,) Mrs. Trollope, Mrs. S. C. Hall, Mrs. Gore, and Lady Blessington. The themes upon which they exercised their powers were almost universal. English, Irish, and Scottish life and manners; fashionable, domestic, and criminal life; Continental, Oriental, and American society and manners; military and naval life; phantasy, history, and education. The whole world of thought was seized and appropriated by them, as a cloud of locusts in the East possesses and devours every green thing in

their way; but, beyond the purpose to write novels, no definite common aim appears to have directed their movements.

That the novel of the present day has passed into a new phase of character as compared with that immediately preceding it, is quite evident. To this change we are, in no small degree, indebted to Dickens and Thackeray, though the movement to which they have so largely contributed has proceeded beyond their positions. The excitements of the memorable year 1848 seem to have made a permanent impression upon the mind of all Europe, which has especially affected its prose fictions. Instead of the gossiping character so remarkable in the novels of the former period, everything is now earnest, and government, religion, and social science are the most prevalent themes of their speculations, and the novel is made a chief vehicle for bringing these subjects before the public mind. This earnestness of purpose, with the materialistic tendencies of the age, has effectually banished nearly every vestige of the *ideal* from these novels, and given them an aspect of tangible realism, and to all their incidents and characters "a local habitation and a name." Thus ceasing to depict imaginary scenes and objects, our modern word-painters have turned their attention to nature, and real scenes and images, and thus they endeavor to compensate themselves for the loss of the world of phantasy by making the most of a truthful *Realism*. And as pictures from nature are pleasing for their own sakes, as well as wholesome in their moral and esthetical influences, these delineations of real life teach us what life is, and at the same time give pleasure by their imitative excellences, no less than from their intrinsic beauty.

Our cotemporary novelists no longer confine themselves to the office of mere ministers of pleasure; the characteristic earnestness of the age affects them, and ulterior purposes crop out from a large share of the novels of the last decade. If the writer is full of thoughts and interests respecting any of the live issues of the age, touched upon by him, that fact will naturally manifest itself in his writings; and as these indirect utterances, by insinuating thoughts and arguments, may become a great power in society, the novel has been subsidized to fight the battles of parties. It thus occurs that all the affairs of domestic, social, and religious life are presented in the forms of fiction, fashioned according to the writer's notions, and commended to our admiration or execration, as they may seem to him to deserve. The contests of senates and cabinets, of synods and councils, are reproduced in our novels, and the profundities of social and sacred science are there sifted and discussed for the delectation of idle youths and sentimental school-girls. For nearly every

pending or recently disposed of question or doctrine some novel has been written, to forward its interests or to effect its defeat. Some skill, however, is requisite in such cases, (and more than has been used in many instances,) lest in betraying his partisanship the author defeat his own purpose by putting the reader on his guard. To render the novel an effectual means to any given purpose, either that purpose must be kept out of sight, or else the facts and images which serve as proofs and arguments must be made to seem so obviously and incontrovertibly true as to compel assent. Illustrations of the successful use of these methods may be seen in several of the novels of Dickens and Thackeray, and especially in Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

A higher order of the novel of purpose, is what our author calls the "Art and Culture Novels," which, passing by the superficial questions of the day, is devoted to more fundamental considerations, questions upon which all virtue and sound morality depend, and out of which arise most of the happiness and misery of human life. This kind of purpose may be detected in some of the fictions of the last century, in *Rasselas* and the *Vicar of Wakefield*, and in Brooke's *Fool of Quality*, which, strangely enough, after a sleep of half a century, has just now experienced a resurrection; and it is almost characteristic of the better class of our latest fictions; those of Kingsley, Miss Bronte, Anthony Trollope, and the author of *Adam Bede*, and not least, of the *Minister's Wooing*, and *Benlah*. The evident earnestness of this class of works, and the warm sympathy manifested by their authors with our great humanity, (morbid indeed in some cases, but still strong and genial,) often gives a kind of sadness and sometimes a resentfulness to their utterances, especially unsuited to the wants of those who read novels only for amusement. Hatred of vested wrongs, of the tyranny of classes, of "respectable" meanness, and of that heartless conservatism—joint product of cowardice and love of the rewards of iniquity—which permeates and curses organized society, and which usually grows inveterate by age till overturned by the plowshare of revolution, is the distinctive element of these works. And as this feeling appeals to the many in their own behalf against the injustice and tyranny of the few, it is usually heard with interest and responded to with applause, and there is no good cause to doubt that the novel is among the most efficient revolutionary agents of this revolutionary age. In some cases these writers avoid the style and appearance of partisans, and seem quite passionless scene-painters, contenting themselves with cautiously displaying the wrongs which they hesitate to denounce; or, like Mark Anthony, they seek to

excite passions which they do not profess to feel, or they set the wrong in strong contrast with the right, and leave the pictures to produce their effects upon the reader's convictions and feelings. Such an agency engaged in the interests of truth and virtue cannot fail to accomplish great good; unhappily it may also be employed against these interests, when, though less effective, it is still powerful for evil.

Of the many lines of thought that open to us from the point we have reached, we must dismiss nearly all, and will close this paper with a few hasty remarks upon the relations of the novel to the other departments of literature, and its scope and capabilities. To most of the great departments of letters it holds rather intimate and pretty well defined relations. With the Epic it naturally stands related by way of both comparison and contrast, since the two forms of writing have many points in common, and yet are distinguished by clearly marked and characteristic differences. Works in prose differ from those in verse not only in their composition, but also in matter and method; and as prose is less carefully wrought, so the prose fiction is less exact in its style and less intense in its character than the Epic. The story in each is constructed on nearly the same plan, but in the former there is less need to aim at the heroic, and none to strive for poetical illusions, or the various forms of ornamentation that belong chiefly to poetical compositions. The novel is indeed the least pretentious form of writing, and its place in literature is an humble one; it also enjoys greater freedom than all others. To make a readable book in the form of a narrative, is all that is absolutely required of the novelist; and if he only does that he is at liberty to digress as he may please on either side, and to load down his story with as many side thoughts and speculations as it will bear. These addenda in many cases constitute the chief value of the book, and the tale seems to be used only as a thread upon which these "pearls of thought," the remarks and speculations of the author and interlocutors upon whatever subjects may be brought in under its auspices, are strung. In proportion, however, as the novel rises toward the perfection of its species, it approximates the interior character of the epic, evincing the essential unity of the two forms of composition, and designating the novel, as our author has done, the Prose-Epic.

The novel also, in many important particulars, resembles the drama, or rather dramatical compositions; for both tragedy and comedy are but condensed and intensified forms of the epic; and Macbeth or Hamlet sufficiently diluted would have made a good

novel. Of course, in such cases, all mere stage arrangements would be avoided, as indeed they should be in all cases when dramas pass over from the green-room to the library. And further, since the play of the passions is naturally much less intense in the reading of a novel than at the scenic exhibitions of the drama, the manner and forms of expression must be modified accordingly. Only a very moderate degree of passion, unless of the gentler and less demonstrative forms, is compatible with the free-and-easy character of the tale that is read for quiet amusement and mental recreation. But with this single difference of greater diffuseness and consequently diminished intensity, these two forms of writing depend on nearly the same conditions.

The relations of the novel to historical writings appear in both the form and the matter. The forms of the two are indeed almost wholly identical, the one pretending to be real, and the other assuming also a formal reality. Often, too, and most advantageously, the novelist makes use of historical materials, and mingles real characters with his fictitious ones. If proper regard is had to the proprieties of time and place, and to the characters and relations of persons, fiction may happily supplement real history, and build its superstructure all the more surely and symmetrically because it is "founded on facts." The successful execution of this rather difficult task is one of Scott's great excellences as a novelist; and in this, though others have somewhat succeeded in it, he stands without a rival.

Notwithstanding the apparent freedom of this kind of writing, and the wide range of subjects on which it may dilate, it is still evident that the novel has hitherto been rather a circumscribed form of literature. This is evinced by the fact that nearly all novels are fashioned after a common model. In most cases a young person, or two of them, a young man and a young woman, are so presented in the story as to become the chief objects of interest. That there may be the requisite amount of uncertainty as to the issue of affairs, giving room and occasion for hopes and fears, these chief characters must appear in all the inexperience and susceptibility of youth, beset with temptations and involved in perplexities; and that the whole interest may be properly concentrated, they must need be related to each other as lovers. And further, to make room for the requisite variety in the form of intrigues, counterplots, and episodes, the desired consummation of their mutual love must be obstructed, endangered, and long delayed, though in the end the affair must terminate in an all-consoling marriage. Thousands of the novels of the last quarter century have been formed upon that outline, and thou-

sands yet to be written will be only varied imitations of these. Two very good reasons induce our novelists to make the passion of love their great staple element—its almost absolute universality as matter of experience, and its very great influence over the after life of its subjects. "Through love, as a portal," writes our author, "man and woman both pass, at one point or another, ere they are free of the corporation of the human race, acquainted with its laws and constitution, and partakers of its privileges." Still it may be doubted whether this universally interesting theme has not been rather overworked; whether, seeing there are other human interests, widely recognized and appreciated, these might not advantageously occupy a larger space relatively in prose fictions. The ablest writers in the departments of imaginative literature, Cervantes, Shakspeare, and Scott, though all have duly honored the "white-handed Aphrodite," have relatively elevated other pursuits and passions, and drawn from them the principal interests of their several productions. "That so many of our inferior novels now should be love-and-marriage novels and nothing more," to adopt again our author's language, "arises perhaps from the fact that the novel-reading age in the one sex falls generally between the eighteenth and the twenty-fifth year, and that, with the other sex, in the present state of our social arrangements, the 'white-hand' remains, directly or indirectly, the permanent human interest during the whole of life."

We are not altogether prepared, therefore, to believe that the narrow limits to which novelists have so generally confined themselves comprise the whole that is accessible to them, or that there is any real necessity that they should so uniformly follow each other in the same beaten track, in which there remains to be gathered scarcely a flower or green shrub. Other passions illustrated with the requisite delicacy and power would afford all the necessary interest and excitement, and especially might their delineation be made to answer the highest didactic purposes of fiction.

Of the religious novel, proper, or rather the novel as an instrument of religious culture, we can write but very briefly. That most religious novels, so called, have been but sorry failures, may be readily granted; but their unsucccess may have been for manifest faults in their style and structure. There is, however, an apparent unsuitableness in the design of the novel as intended for amusement to the solemn earnestness that befits all things pertaining to the soul's great interests. Novelists write to please; but the stern lessons of religion are seldom sought for as a means of pleasure, or by those who are seeking for amusements. It would therefore seem that the novel never could be made a medium of direct and undis-

guised religious instruction and culture. But after this concession has been made, very much may be claimed for its possible influence in behalf of the deepest and most spiritual forms of religious life and experience. The manifold and varying forms of unbelief may tax the highest powers of genius to detect and describe them, including a deep and broad philosophy and a clear and strong imagination, quickened by experience into a lively sympathy with its subject. The tangled perplexity, so necessary to the interest of the story, may be afforded in all requisite fullness by the deeply interesting questions which alarm the awakened conscience and demand a solution; and the trembling uncertainties which hang over pending decisions upon which depend the great things of both time and eternity, invest the whole subject with the deepest interest; and the happy *denouement* of the conflict, in the calm peace of Christian assurance, brings the required favorable conclusion of the whole. To conduct this form of fiction successfully would require the highest grade of artistic ability, while an unsuccessful attempt would be much worse than merely a failure. "That a writer may be fitted to frame imaginary histories," (we again adopt and slightly modify our author's words,) "illustrating the deepest problems of human education, and to be a sound casuist in the most difficult questions of human experience, it is necessary that he should bring to his task not only an average acquaintance with the body of good current doctrine, but also an original speculative faculty. To accomplish all that seems needful in this case, either our novelists must become learned practical and theoretical theologians, or else our divines must become novelists." Perhaps both classes might be benefited by the process, as well as the public, by their productions.

With the enthusiasm that is characteristic of real genius, Mr. Masson demands the highest perfection as the only just ideal of his speciality, of the realization of which he appears to be not altogether without hope. He would carry the prose fiction into the domains of poetry, and make it more than the rival of the metrical epic. And especially he demands for it a high and pure spirituality, which, passing beyond a merely concrete realism, shall deal with the great elementary truths among which our spirits dwell, and in which are hidden the highest interests of the individuals and the aggregate of our humanity.

ART. II.—RESULTS OF WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

It is not difficult to account for the misapprehensions which prevail concerning the British West Indies, and the working of emancipation in those colonies. To some extent they have been created by the promptings of a grasping cupidity, anxious to make out a case that may possibly justify to the British government the policy of reviving the slave-trade from Africa, disguised under the specious designation of "free-labor immigration." Such, doubtless, was the origin of certain unscrupulous communications addressed to, and published in the London Times newspaper a few months ago, which were pervaded throughout by the grossest misrepresentations concerning the West India colonies. It was a very significant coincidence that those communications appeared about the time when the Jamaica legislature was engaged in preparing the details of a measure which was intended to legalize a descent upon the coast of Africa for the purpose of carrying off more of her children, nominally as free laborers, but really and truly to consign them to bondage and misery, and, in multitudes of instances, to an early grave in the West Indies. Here deceit and falsehood were appropriately employed to pave the way for the adoption of a new system of legalized robbery and murder, similar to that which has already, in Jamaica and elsewhere, robbed tens of thousands of wretched coolies of hope and life. Happily, however, the British government has shielded the nation from this additional guilt and dishonor by promptly disallowing the Jamaica bill.

In some cases the publication of misleading statements, and the utterance of opinions quite at variance with facts, may be accounted for without attributing intentional misrepresentation to their authors. These do not proceed from parties resident in the colonies; for, after a protracted residence there, we are not acquainted with one individual that would pronounce emancipation to be a failure; they are generally from transient visitors, who have neither time nor opportunity, nor perhaps the disposition to institute, upon the spot a fair and impartial investigation of the subject concerning which they give their lucubrations to the world. A person on his way to California, Central America, or elsewhere, is a passenger in a steamer or other vessel that touches at a West India port, it may be Kingston, in Jamaica, where he spends a few hours, or possibly two

or three days. He observes about the wharves, and the streets adjacent thereto, as may be seen in any considerable shipping port, a number of loose and profligate persons of both sexes, whose appearance, manners, and conversation, all alike repulsive, indicate that they belong to the very dregs and outcasts of society. Their dark complexion shows that they are of the class emancipated from slavery a few years ago; and taking these as samples of the population, and seeing nothing of the industrious, well-ordered peasantry in the interior, he writes to his friends, or to the newspapers, that the emancipated colored people of the West Indies have "degenerated into a community of vagrants, paupers, and thieves." Being informed also that in that particular island the export of staple productions is less than it formerly was, without taking any trouble to ascertain if other causes have contributed to such a result, or whether it is the same in all the colonies, he jumps to the conclusion, and gives it a world-wide circulation, that under emancipation, and as the result of it, the West India colonies are becoming rapidly overspread with desolation, and sinking into poverty and ruin. It is thus that, to a great extent, misapprehension has gone abroad, and the public mind has been abused; while a certain portion of the press has eagerly availed itself of these mistakes and misrepresentations, for purposes easy to be understood, and described the great act of justice and humanity on the part of Great Britain in emancipating her slaves, the greatest and noblest act of modern times, as a mistake and a failure.

It would not be difficult, after a similar method of reasoning, to make out that Great Britain and the United States are both inhabited by a community of idlers and thieves; taking the loungers and bad characters who frequent the banks of the Thames below London Bridge, or the immediate vicinity of the East River in New York, as samples of the population of the two countries. It is not peculiar to the West Indies that the most worthless and abandoned of the population crowd into the largest towns and cities, and abound in the neighborhood of wharves and shipping places; and to estimate the character and condition of a whole people from such specimens is alike unjust and absurd. It is in this way, according to Mr. Bowen, whose lectures on Africa have been recently attracting some attention, that the whole civilized world has been deceived with regard to the character and habits of the people in the interior of Western Africa. He says: "We had judged all the Africans by the few fishermen and slavedealers on the coast. We thought them an exceedingly lazy people. So the coast men were. But in the interior they were industrious enough." So in the West Indies.

Let these transient visitors travel into the interior of the islands, and look upon the agricultural population in their own neat and quiet homes, and become acquainted from observation with their daily habits; they will find themselves surrounded by an industrious, respectful, orderly, and law-obeying people, very different from the sottish and disorderly rabble which first arrested their attention on the wharf at which they landed. And let them take the trouble to investigate the subject fully, and they will discover that although great commercial depression has prevailed in all the islands, yet the falling off in staple products is limited to a few of them, being more than made up in others; and that where cultivation has been abridged, it may, as shown in a preceding article, be ascribed to the operation of causes entirely distinct from the abolition of slavery.

The greatest depression which the agricultural and commercial interests of the West Indies ever experienced, occurred during the five or six years immediately following the adoption of the free-trade policy of Sir Robert Peel's government, and the measure for equalizing the duties on British and foreign sugars. Then it was that a large number of proprietors were brought to a stand, for want of capital to continue the culture of their estates, and some hundreds of properties of different kinds were thrown out of cultivation altogether. The mortgagees, up to this time, had continued to make advances sparingly to their insolvent constituents, which they were able to do from the compensation money for the slaves which they had received, and which, taking Jamaica as an example, would, on a plantation possessing four hundred slaves, amount to between eighty and ninety thousand dollars. But when the act to which we have referred passed, in 1846, the price of sugar went down in the British market at least 50 per cent.; property in the West Indies became fearfully depressed in value; the merchants and capitalists shrunk, as a matter of course, from making investments or continuing advances while such a gloom rested upon the colonies; and, as the natural and unavoidable result, many of the planters, who were entirely dependent upon such advances, were necessitated to discontinue the cultivation of their estates, just as many persons, during the late monetary crisis in England and the United States, were compelled, from causes very similar, to give up the business in which they were engaged.

The darkest period, therefore, in the financial history of the West Indies dates from 1846 to 1853, when the crisis was passed. Then sugar rose again to a price sufficient to remunerate the grower, and gleams of prosperity, almost un hoped for, shone athwart the gloom, proving to be the harbingers of a brighter day to the disheartened planters. If we take the last year of slavery in the colonies, 1833-4,

and exhibit, in a tabular view, their condition at that time, as to population, revenue, imports, exports, and shipping, and then look at their condition with regard to these several particulars in 1851-2, five years after Sir Robert Peel's free-trade measures began to operate with crushing effect upon West India interests, we shall be in a position to judge how much truth there is in the cry that emancipation has ruined the British Colonies. The comparison embraces a period during which the free-labor system had been in operation, and on its trial, seventeen years.

The table on the following page was compiled with the greatest possible care by R. Montgomery Martin, Esq., who was privileged with free access to government offices and official documents, while preparing his work on the colonies for the press.

Facts constitute the most incontrovertible arguments; and here we have an elaborate array of facts, which, combined, shed a flood of light upon the much misrepresented subject of British emancipation, and show how little reliance is to be placed upon the random and unsupported assertions which have been so often and so boldly reiterated, as to the depopulation and depreciation of the colonies subsequent to the abolition of slavery.

The increase of population is a striking feature in this tabular statement. Previous to the act of emancipation the population of the slave colonies was decreasing in a ratio that was fearful to contemplate, and which in a few years would have left them without inhabitants. It was ascertained by means of the registration of slaves, which the home government insisted upon having maintained in all the West India islands, that during eleven years, ending with 1830, there was a decrease in the negro population amounting to 52,000, owing to excessive toil, under-feeding, and severity of discipline, their condition being, to use the words of a nobleman since at the head of the British government, the Earl of Derby, "one of unredressed injustice, bitter oppression, and hopeless wrong." It is not probable that this downward tendency of the colored population received a check all at once, immediately on the abolition of slavery, especially as the abuses of the apprenticeship system were of such a character as to make it little better than slavery itself, and left the infant portion of the laboring class so entirely unprovided for, and so absolutely dependent on their apprenticed parents, whose labor for five days in the week was given by law to the masters, as to render a very considerable mortality among them matter of certainty. But after the people became really free, in 1838, the natural laws of increase resumed their sway, and instead of a decrease of 52,000, we find an increase of population during the seventeen

COMPARATIVE CONDITION OF THE BRITISH WESTERN SLAVE COLONIES IN 1833-4 (AT THE PERIOD OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY) AND IN 1851-2.

Name of Colony.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.		Revenue.		Imports, Value.		Sugar exported to United Kingdom.		Rum exported to United Kingdom.		Molasses exported to United Kingdom.		Shipping Inwards.	
		1833.	1851.	1833.	1851.	1833.	1851.	1833.	1852.	1833.	1852.	1833.	1852.	1833.	1852.
Antigua.....	110	84,918	87,136	£13,883	£21,888	£59,555	£198,425	Cwts. 126,519	Cwts. 180,662	Gals. 34,832	Gals. 65,699	Cwts. 67,181	Cwts. 72,430	Tons. 24,839	Tons. 24,439
Anguilla.....	35	2,906	2,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Barbadoes....	166	102,231	135,339	20,915	55,724	461,135	787,977	Cwts. 384,071	Cwts. 743,006	.....	716	47,246	144,656	56,178	93,381
Barbuda.....	60	800	623	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bahamas.....	3,373	118,508	30,419	11,061	34,105	104,164	142,442	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23,377	67,134
Turk's Island	470	8,843	11,092	10,000	11,376	79,740	135,710	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,675	32,693
Bermuda.....	19	8,843	25,000	6,120	12,901	68,506	71,838	47,372	63,663	30,310	25,763	3,473	7,160	7,603	12,046
Dominica.....	275	18,690	32,671	15,112	16,056	79,846	138,360	204,074	125,008	185,969	184,276	32,608	2,436	24,805	22,176
Grenada.....	133	23,175	32,671	15,112	16,056	67,417	855,419	.....	846,900	1,241,377	2,723,423	352,079	88,331	116,829	111,771
Grenadines	100,000	92,943	130,000	70,512	169,870	233,136	239,819	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,018	22,332
Montserrat...	62,000	6,500	1,500	15,115	17,964	4,000	4,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,663	523	67,971	103,968
St. Vincent...	30	.....	.....	.....	400	765,400	1,129,776	1,236,991	511,963	3,219,733	1,390,927	.....	.....	.....	500
St. Kitts.....	68	23,358	24,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Lucia.....	178	17,353	24,318	7,408	17,902	44,467	112,748	13,607	33,480	6,312	6,937	1,930	493	5,509	4,441
St. Vincent...	181	26,500	30,128	7,416	16,956	60,338	194,930	42,287	83,480	8,967	8,700	1,524	1,893	8,266	8,700
Trinidad.....	1,800	43,613	68,000	35,130	95,733	165,389	547,075	194,889	176,393	10,773	3,112	4,293	5,073	17,671	22,065
Tobago.....	97	18,200	15,000	5,320	12,232	307,075	75,427	284,303	483,857	223	223	80,777	91,344	29,210	29,246
Virgin Isles..	90	6,535	7,500	1,327	1,413	75,427	63,884	88,352	63,884	232,622	186,840	19,070	1,151	12,413	8,943
Totals.....	175,518	897,224	1,089,885	£432,999	£713,792	£3,205,523	£4,737,295	3,340,366	3,408,627	5,109,975	5,061,602	584,794	473,091	473,091	651,698

* Not a sugar producing colony.

years, of more than 242,000. It is true there has been immigration from various quarters to some of the colonies, but not to such an extent as materially to affect this increase, when the great mortality among the emigrants themselves, and the return of many of them to their own country according to contract, are taken into the account. A large proportion of all who have been carried to the several colonies have been speedily removed by death, while others, having fulfilled the specified term of service, have gone back to India to spend their hoarded earnings in their native land, so that the increase of population is not largely affected by immigration. Cholera, too, has done its work and swept away large numbers, especially in Jamaica, where it raged with terrible fury in 1849; and the number of whites has been lessened in most of the islands, for their services are no longer required as overseers, book-keepers, etc., to the same extent as under the former system, and their places are, in many instances, filled by colored men. Not a few of the estates that once had several white men to superintend their operations, are now efficiently managed by black or colored overseers.

The condition of the public revenue, and the ability of the people to bear taxation, must be regarded as an important element in the general question of a country's commercial and financial condition. The revenues of the several emancipated colonies are, to a very considerable extent, raised by import duties, and it will be observed that the gross annual amount for the whole of the colonies advanced between 1833-4 and 1851-2 from £432,999 to £715,729. The conclusion is inevitable that a vast improvement must have taken place in the circumstances of the people, when they are able to bear this large additional amount of taxation, levied chiefly upon those articles the consumption of which contributes to promote a higher degree of comfort and social enjoyment among all classes of the community.

The amount and character of the imports furnish an unmistakable criterion by which to estimate the advancing or decreasing prosperity of a country; and in the emancipated colonies we find these to have increased, at the end of seventeen years, in annual value, from £3,205,523 to £4,737,295, more than a million and a half sterling, or about seven and a half million dollars. If those representations which have been so freely circulated concerning the sinking condition of the West Indies, the indolence of the people, and a prevailing and increasing barbarism, have any truth in them, how, we ask, does it come to pass that these very people are in a condition to require, and have the means of purchasing, British and American productions and manufactures to the extent of seven and a half million dollars per annum above what were imported in the palmy

days of slavery? And it so happens that these imports are largely of such a character as to indicate the growing comfort and advancing civilization of the consumers. For instance, comparing the three last years of slavery with the three years ending December, 1851, the increase in the article of plain and colored calicoes, imported into the colonies, amounted to seventy-one million seven hundred and sixteen thousand, five hundred and ninety-five yards; and this, notwithstanding Jamaica had ceased to be, what it formerly was, the entrepôt of a large and lucrative trade in such articles with the Spanish main, which trade is now carried on direct from England. It appears that Jamaica alone, in 1850, consumed six million yards of plain and printed cottons more than were imported into *all the slave colonies together* in 1830. On a comparison between the year preceding the abolition of slavery and 1850, the imports show an increase of 23,471 barrels of flour, 5,553 barrels of meal, 377,872 pounds of bread, 1,835,624 pounds of rice, 58,500 bushels of corn, oats, peas, etc.; and salt fish, salt pork, soap, butter, lard, and other articles in like proportions. Such facts supply, of themselves, a satisfactory refutation of the assertion that the emancipated negroes, refusing to work for wages, content themselves with those fruits and edibles which their own small freeholds afford them, and are sinking into squalid poverty and barbarism. Had it been really so, they would only have been acting out the lesson which they had been *compelled* to learn during slavery; but instead of this we see them obtaining by industry, on an enlarged scale, the means and appliances of improving civilization and comfort, and opening up profitable markets to British manufacturers and American merchants.

The shipping inward has increased, as a matter of course, in proportion to the imports, being in 1833 473,091 tons, and in 1851 651,698 tons, an advance of about forty per cent. This is another feature which indicates improvement, not decline. It is not to be supposed that either British or American merchants send their ships to countries where they do not find profitable employment; and if these emancipated colonies require upward of 178,000 tons of shipping more than they did in the times of slavery, as shown in the tabular statement, what an amount of ignorance, or contempt of truth, is involved in the assertion that they are going to ruin.

While we are on this subject a remark or two concerning Hayti may not be out of place. It is often affirmed that Hayti has been ruined since the violent struggle which ended in the abolition of slavery there; an assertion which is not borne out by facts. Mr. R. M. Martin says:

"The population speaking the Spanish language is now estimated at 125,000, the majority being a mixed or colored race; and those speaking the French language 800,000, more than seven-eighths of whom are of pure African blood. All enjoy a degree of comfort adapted to their climate, and equal to that of the peasantry of other countries. *Sugar culture has been destroyed, lest it might tempt the whites to endeavor to restore slavery.* They produce annually about seventy million pounds of coffee, and export large quantities of this and other articles. In the year ending June, 1851, the Haytian trade employed 74,671 tons of American shipping, navigated by 3,504 United States seamen, and also a considerable amount of foreign tonnage. The imports of Haytian produce into the United States in 1851 were 1,889,968 dollars; and the exports in return, 1,816,298 dollars."

With regard to the export of staple productions, as exhibited in the foregoing table, some explanatory remarks are necessary to a just conclusion. In 1833 the navigation laws of Great Britain were in force, which to a large extent shut out foreign shipping from the West Indies, and compelled the planters to send all their produce to British ports; so that the columns of exports headed 1833 exhibit the entire produce of the articles named in all the colonies at that period. Not so with the columns headed 1852, for then the navigation laws had been repealed, enabling the West Indians to buy in the cheapest, and to sell their sugar, molasses, and rum in the dearest markets they could find; and it is a well-known fact that considerable quantities of these articles find entrance to the United States, and other foreign markets, probably more than sufficient to cover the apparent decrease exhibited in the table of exports we have quoted. There are numerous mercantile houses, all over the West India colonies, which import largely from the United States and British America, and send back for payment, in whole or in part, their saccharine productions, of which, as a matter of course, no account is taken in the "exports to the United Kingdom."

It should also be observed, that since the abolition of slavery the social and domestic habits of the people have been improved, and the home consumption of all the staple articles of produce has been largely augmented. Sugar, molasses, and coffee, from the ordinary use of which, while they were slaves, the people were cut off, are now in general and daily requisition among them; so that, allowing only for a very moderate quantity to be consumed by each individual, the increase in the domestic consumption would of itself go far to make up all the apparent deficiency between 1833 and 1852. It is not practicable to show with accuracy the amount of sugar, molasses, etc., now made in the West Indies; but the facts which have been referred to lead to the conclusion that, even at the time when the planting and commercial interests of the colonies were at the lowest point of depression—about 1851–2—a larger quantity of

saccharine matter was actually produced in them than at any time during the existence of slavery.

The cultivation of coffee has declined in the British West Indies, the want of capital having rendered the proprietors unable to establish new plantations in room of the worn-out trees; besides which the competition of better-flavored and lower-priced coffee from Ceylon, and other British territories in the East Indies, has made its production unprofitable in comparison with other staple produce. But the cultivation of cocoa and arrow-root has been largely augmented, the annual increase of exports on the former article between 1833 and 1851 being 2,222,554 lbs., besides the large additional quantity absorbed by home consumption.

In view of all these facts and statistics, what culpable ignorance and what gross injustice are involved in representations like the following, which appeared in a newspaper published in the center and capital of this great republic, the Washington Union, and has gone the round of the newspaper press, misleading multitudes who have not the means of ascertaining the truth, nor the disposition to use them if they had, being only too willing to be deceived into the belief that British emancipation has proved a failure, and ruined the colonies it was designed to benefit. The effect of such misleading statements cannot be too much deplored, nor their hasty publication without due investigation too strongly deprecated, when we consider the influence they exert upon the public mind, and their bearing upon the destinies of millions of bondmen in the United States. The Washington Union says:

"The most signal failure in what was regarded and universally denominated a great work of philanthropy is to be found in the results of British emancipation, even viewed solely with reference to the present condition of the people who were then made free. Before, they were in a condition of comparative comfort. They had no capacity to govern themselves, and they were wholly without the necessary industry to provide means for their subsistence. Thus thrown upon their own resources, their rapid demoralization and degradation became inevitable. Such, we take it, is the legitimate fruit of all hot-bed schemes of benevolence and philanthropy. The people for whose benefit the act of freedom was enacted were not in a condition to receive its intended rights. They were of a race whose career, so far, had given no public testimony that they could take care of themselves. That, in fact, was the chief point of the case. The emancipated negroes lost their protectors, and could not protect themselves. They soon degenerated into vagrants, paupers, and thieves."

Yet the people who are thus denounced have been able to take such care of themselves that, after seventeen years of freedom, instead of decreasing in a fearful ratio, as they did under slavery, they have increased nearly twenty per cent., despite the fearful ravages

of the cholera; they find employment for shipping to the extent of more than thirty per cent. above the closing year of their bondage; they supply revenues to the government to the amount of more than seventy per cent. in advance of what was realized in the golden age of slavery, and consume British and American manufactures and provisions to the annual value of seven and a half millions of dollars more than were imported at that period. And notwithstanding the married women, in thousands of instances, now remain at home to take care of their households, and attend to their own little garden patches, instead of going out as formerly to labor in the field, which is itself a mark of social elevation, the men and single women work only a limited number of hours daily in comparison with what they were compelled to do under the old system, and young children are sent to school who would, in former times, have been organized in juvenile gangs for the lighter labor of the plantations; yet, taking the colonies as a whole, as large an amount of produce is raised for home consumption and exportation by the free labor which is available, as ever was extorted in former years by incessant and unrequited toil through the terror of the whip.

A general view of the intellectual and moral advancement of the emancipated colonies during the same period is not to be obtained, because only a few of the many religious bodies who have established churches and schools among the emancipated people have been in the habit of publishing the statistical information which would be necessary to compile a general tabular statement. But taking the operations of one Church only, the British Methodist, as a sample, it will be seen how little ground there is for representing the freed negroes in the British colonies as degenerating into vagrants, paupers, and thieves. In all the colonies the Methodists had

	Stations	Ch'chs.	Minist's	Worship'rs	Schools.	Scholars.		
						Male.	Female.	Total.
In 1833	28	97	51	31,777	66	2,406	3,307	6,945
In 1852	43	196	96	107,400	250	8,294	8,796	17,196

To a considerable extent the churches and schools are built, and the ministers are sustained, by the voluntary contributions of the people who are so wantonly traduced.

Thus, on a candid investigation of the results during the first seventeen or eighteen years of its history, emancipation in the British West Indies proves to be not a failure, but a great success, notwithstanding the ruinous condition of affairs which existed when the experiment was entered upon, and the difficulties and discour-

agements with which it has had to contend, owing to the sweeping fiscal changes which arose out of the more liberal policy adopted by the home government, under the auspices of Sir Robert Peel, and by which the condition and prospects of the colonies could not but be, for a season, most seriously affected; although they are likely to prove ultimately beneficial, by awakening and calling into activity that feeling of self-reliance which, both in individuals and communities, lies at the foundation of all commercial prosperity.

The statistical view which we have given of the colonies in 1851-2, exhibits the results of emancipation under the most unfavorable aspect; for that, as already shown, was the period when the affairs of the planters were at the worst, and the financial condition and prospects of the colonies most dark and discouraging. Since that date a vast improvement has taken place in the West Indies. Sugar having risen in value, an impulse has been given to its culture and manufacture. The planters, adopting modern improvements, find the cultivation of their estates to be highly remunerative, and the profitableness of free over slave labor is no longer matter of question or experiment, but of demonstration and certainty.

That Jamaica, as yet, partakes in a smaller degree of the commercial prosperity which is revisiting the West India colonies generally, is a fact which is easily accounted for. The unwieldy size of most of the plantations which have been wholly, or in part, thrown out of cultivation, renders a considerable amount of capital necessary to put them again in working condition, and the revival of the sugar interest is yet too recent to have induced capitalists to speculate largely in that direction. The ruinous system of absenteeism still largely prevails, and most of the estates in that island are intrusted to agents, whose salaries and commissions have to be derived from the proceeds, and who cannot be expected to take the same interest in them that the owners would if they, with their families, resided upon their own properties, and personally superintended their own affairs. The want of fair and honest dealing with the laborers on the part of the planters, and, in many instances, want of the necessary capital to pay the wages regularly, still tend, as they have done for many years in Jamaica, to destroy or weaken the confidence of the people in their employers. There has also been cherished in that island, to an extent that has not obtained elsewhere, a feeling of antagonism on the part of the planters toward the laborers, leading to the adoption of successive ill-digested schemes of immigration, which have all proved to be wretched failures, and which have had scarcely any other results than to bring upon the colony an increase of debt to the amount of £270,000, augment the

blood-guiltiness of the land by sending thousands of the miserably deluded immigrants to a premature grave, and to cover the island with ragged, starving mendicants. All the immigration schemes of Jamaica have been designed, as their principal object, to grind down the emancipated laborers, and compel them to accept the merest pittance for wages. If half the amount which that colony has wasted in these costly schemes (all paid out of the public taxation) had been expended in public improvements; and if the same amount of care and trouble which their adoption has involved had been given to the cultivation of a good understanding with the Creole laborers, Jamaica might have been unquestionably as prosperous as Antigua and Barbadoes, Trinidad and British Guiana, and other islands, which, having adopted a wiser policy, and being favored to a larger extent with a resident proprietary, exhibit in their present condition, in all respects, a most happy contrast with the days of slavery.

A correspondent of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society, resident in the colony, writes concerning the state of things in Jamaica, in the early part of the year 1858:

"The absentee and representative system still prevails. Capital cannot be had by the practical planter resident in the island; so that, instead of a strong body of local planters on their own account, exercising all the salutary, natural, healthy economy of farming which, when well managed, affords good wages to the laborer, we have the old system of management by deputies, (attorneys, overseers, and book-keepers,) who have miserable pittances, and no security for permanence and the establishment of families."*

The history of the pamphlet from which the above extract is given may be stated in few words. A writer in the London Times newspaper having put forth certain statements concerning the condition of the West Indies, the character of the emancipated people, and more especially with reference to the want of labor there, manifestly with the view of preparing the way for again opening the slave-trade to the coast of Africa under another name, the British and Foreign Antislavery Society addressed a series of inquiries to persons resident in the several colonies, for the purpose of eliciting information as to the want of labor, and the alleged unwillingness of the peasantry to work for wages. The replies to these queries, from planters and ministers of religion, are embodied in the pamphlet referred to, for the purpose, as the committee say,

* Pamphlet on the West India Labor Question, being Replies to Inquiries Instituted by the Committee of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society, embracing Facts and Statistics on the Present Condition of the Emancipated Classes, and on the alleged Want of Labor in the West India Colonies, but especially in Jamaica. 1858.

"of removing the erroneous impressions prevalent on this subject which interested parties in this country [England] have sought to convey, and to counteract the mischievous tendency of their calumnious statements. The committee deem it advisable not to publish the names of their correspondents, but would observe that their respectability and perfect trustworthiness are beyond all question."

This pamphlet contains the most recent authentic information that has been published relative to the West Indies, and the character and conduct of the emancipated people. We shall give a few extracts illustrative of the foregoing statements, and as showing the present condition and prospects of the colonies in the judgment of intelligent persons who *reside* there, and are consequently in a position to see and represent things as they are.

JAMAICA.—A correspondent writes from the northwest part of the island:

"Immediately after 1838 the people, in consequence of the double-rent system, and other acts of tyranny and injustice, left the estates on which they had lived and worked as slaves, and now, to the extent of at least 100,000 acres, have purchased land for themselves, on which they have erected dwelling-houses, and where they grow also an abundance of ground provisions, not only for their own consumption, but also to meet the requirements of the population generally. Thus they have made themselves in some measure independent of other sources from which the necessaries of life might be obtained; and so valuable and necessary are the provision grounds of the negro to him, that no wages which might now be offered to him would induce the abandonment of their cultivation. Yet it is quite true that the peasantry generally have no means of obtaining money to any great extent, excepting as the result of labor on sugar-plantations, breeding-pens, coffee properties, etc. It will, therefore, at once be seen that there is an opposition of claims and interests, the peasant regarding (and rightly so) his grounds as having the first claim, and the planter looking at sugar cultivation as the most important. This difficulty is felt at certain seasons of the year, the season for planting provisions, and at such times there is no doubt of a paucity of labor in some localities.

"There is another fact that must be taken into consideration: there is no mutual confidence and sympathy. The people believe the planters, as a body, to be selfish, grasping, dishonest, and desirous of coercing labor; and with honorable exceptions, it is so. On the other hand, the planters believe the peasantry are an inferior order of beings, constitutionally lazy, and almost universally dishonest; and there are, no doubt, instances of laziness and dishonesty, and I do not scruple to tell them so, so that there is almost universal distrust. These feelings need not, would not have arisen, had a different course been pursued in 1838; but the planters have tried to graft on the new state of things the old habits and customs of slavery. This has been very properly resented; and now, except in certain cases, there exists discord and ill-will instead of union and co-operation.

"Another fact that will account for some of the difficulties which have occurred in sugar cultivation is, that some planters are trying to cultivate without capital. They fail in their object, and, of course, the reason assigned is, that the people will not work. One difficulty, which is most serious in its effects, is the unpunctuality and irregularity with which wages are paid

when due. Two, three, six, and sometimes eight weeks are allowed to elapse while the hire of the laborer is kept back; and then, when the wages are paid, mistakes and mischief occur, and mutual recrimination takes place. Where the above-mentioned causes are not in operation, I give it as my decided conviction that there is no want of labor, and that sugar cultivation is progressing and profitable to all parties. I will add one or two illustrations of what I have stated. The people on a neighboring estate were not paid for seven weeks before Christmas, and, as a natural consequence, they would not turn out after Christmas until their wages were paid; and who can blame them? Again: a man engaged to work at two shillings per day as a wheelwright. The work took four days. It was done, and the money applied for, when the applicant was told that he would get only one shilling and sixpence per day instead of two shillings. That, however, was not paid at the time, and the poor man was under the necessity of riding seventy miles, and had to wait six weeks before he obtained the six shillings instead of eight.

"I know persons who travel thirty miles to work on a certain estate in the parish of Westmoreland, because they are allowed to work as much as they can do, and are sure of getting the amount they earn, though there are plantations very near their homes where they could get work, but where they could not earn so much, and would have to wait long before they obtained the little that was due to them. These facts are only mentioned as a sample of that which is of frequent occurrence; and my conviction is that no laboring people in the world would be more quiet and forbearing than are the laborers in this country, under the petty annoyances and dishonesty to which they are subject.

"Let these evils be removed, and I am certain there will be no want of labor in any part of the island. I am acquainted with twelve sugar estates in this neighborhood, on which members of my congregation are laboring, and, excepting at the planting season, there is more labor at command than the planters can employ. There is no want of immigration here.

"What we want more than anything else is capital, a resident proprietary body, and kindly and faithful treatment of the laborer, and the sugar crops might be increased to an indefinite extent. There is no doubt that during the last and present year our planters have done well; some have amassed as much as £20,000 (\$100,000) in a short period. Their appetites have been whetted, and now they are thirsting for greater gains by the introduction of labor which they may be able to coerce.

"I should like to have said something on the results of freedom to the inhabitants of the colony. The idea of its being a failure is simply ridiculous; it is a triumph, a noble triumph, our enemies being judges."

Another correspondent from near the center of the island writes:

"It is not true that the laborers are, as a body, idle. Every thoroughfare in the island proves this, for these are periodically crowded with them and their stock. The export of coffee, maintained in a great measure by their cultivation of this berry; the comparatively little necessity for their purchasing sugar, in consequence of manufacturing the article at home; the supply of ground provisions, kept up entirely by them, I believe, through the island; and their occupation in various trades, all prove it. Certainly in a country where labor is maintained entirely by the lately emancipated and their descendants, it is the greatest folly and absurdity to term them idle as a body. But can people thrive on idleness? Yet if any class of persons in this island is thriving it is this. Hence the number of small settlements throughout the country; hence their rivaling the European in dress; hence the number of horses, asses, and mules which they possess; hence their liberality on public occasions of charity; and hence their being able at times to lend their late owners money. My district, with other districts adjoining, is chiefly peopled

by the laboring classes; and no one could ride through it and say that the people's temporal affairs are not prosperous; here a cane field, there a coffee piece, here a plantain walk, there a lot of yam hills. True, with greater artificial wants they would be less comfortably placed; but we take them as they are."

A correspondent in the parish of Manchester, in the south part of the island, and wide apart from both the foregoing, writes:

"I have been thirteen years in Jamaica. During the whole of that period I have resided in the Manchester mountains, about sixty miles from Kingston. This parish contains chiefly coffee properties, pimento walks, and farms. When I came to Manchester I found many properties abandoned, and others in the course of being abandoned; but had slavery continued, these estates must have shared the same fate. Emancipation was not the cause of their abandonment. I found not sufficient demand for available labor, and the negroes accordingly were in the way of purchasing land for cultivation on their own account. There is now a very large number of freeholders in Manchester. In the course of these thirteen years there has been an obvious improvement in the social, moral, and religious condition of the people generally. Idlers we have, unprincipled and bad people we have, but they form a small minority of the population. And I believe that as much coffee is sent out of Manchester now, by these small freeholders, as in the palmy days of slavery used to be sent from the large estates.

"There are great falsehoods published about the decrease of the population. Beyond all question our population is increasing rapidly. I have not the smallest doubt that by 1868 there will be double the black people in the island that there were on August 1, 1838."

From the parish of Trelawny, on the north of the island, another correspondent writes:

"I cannot, from personal knowledge, speak of the colony generally; but respecting the district in which I reside I can answer. This district comprises a considerable number of large and flourishing estates. My knowledge of it extends along the sea-side from the Rio Bueno to within a short distance of Martha Brae—about fifteen miles. Among the estates included I may name the following: Bengal, Bryan Castle, Brampton, Bryan, Lisvoney, Hopewell, Nightingale Grove, Arcadia, Georgia, Friendship, Swanswick, Vale Royal, Braco, Lancaster, Harmony Hall, and Spring. The largest proprietor and attorney connected with these has more than once assured me that he can get as much labor as he requires; and even in the worst times every one of his properties is known to have been remunerative; while under his efficient management estates that had been a loss to their owners have yielded a fair return."

We prolong our remarks concerning Jamaica, because that island is more frequently than the other colonies referred to, as affording evidence of the alleged degeneracy of the emancipated negroes, and the ruinous effects of emancipation. Having ourselves spent several years in Jamaica before the abolition of slavery, and fourteen after it had taken place, and having often stopped, while traveling, to contemplate, with admiration and delight, the negro towns and villages—abodes of peace and comfort—scattered over the face of the country,

we can testify to the entire correctness of most of the particulars graphically stated in a letter published in the *New York Tribune* of August 6, manifestly the production of one who is a keen observer, and personally acquainted with the several matters concerning which he writes. He says:

"I have already mentioned in what manner the emancipated peasantry became first possessed of freehold property. Let me now give you some idea of their habitations. In some parts of the island their dwellings are by no means suggestive of a high degree of civilization; but in by far the greater part they are such as any people in their condition of life may well be proud of. I have said that the peasantry seek association in villages. Their holdings are from half an acre to six or more acres. Some of them are possessed of as much as from fifty to a hundred acres. Their houses are constructed of hard wood posts, set upright in the ground. A substantial foundation of about thirty inches in height above the ground is built, the posts rising thereout. Between the posts is filled up with stones and mortar, or with lath and plaster. The flooring is of pitch pine, or the hard wood of the country. Sometimes it is of white pine. Doors and windows are of the same material: the latter are usually moving *jalousies* (or blinds;) but those who can afford the luxury sometimes sport sash windows. The roofing is of white cedar, or cypress shingles; but where it can be handily obtained, the more durable Jamaica cedar, mahoe, or broadleaf, is preferred. The habitations consist of a sitting-room, there called a hall, and two or three bed-rooms, according to the size of the family. If the dwelling is near the edge of a frequented road, sometimes a shop is added, in which salted provisions, groceries, and sometimes spirits, are sold. Many of the peasantry obtain a handsome competence in this way. The kitchen and other necessary out-offices are always in the rear. When I add, that all the apartments are generally plainly but decently furnished, and the bed-linen, if ever so coarse, scrupulously clean; and that the dwelling is embowered among plantain and banana trees, intermingled with the cassava, yam, and other tropical productions, I have given you as good an idea as I can, in so hasty a sketch, of the habitation of a Jamaica peasant.

"On the whole, though the result of emancipation is not altogether such as the friends of freedom could wish; yet, divested of misrepresentation, it is far more satisfactory than those who opposed the enfranchisement of the negroes had any right to expect. The emancipated are a docile and a law-abiding people; only give them fair play and they will yet demonstrate to the world the fitness of the African race for freedom, civilization, and self-government. They are doing so now in Jamaica, where the most eminent men in the executive government, in the halls of legislation, at the bar, in the pulpit, and connected with the press, are of the African race.

"I may remark that a reaction seems to have commenced in Jamaica. The sudden rise in the price of sugar gave a surprising stimulus to sugar manufacture, and immense profits have been realized; and though the price of sugar has again fallen, but not so deplorably low as it has been, it is being proven to demonstration that sugar and rum can be manufactured in Jamaica with a handsome profit to the manufacturer. Under the new form of government, too, (a colored man being at the head of the administration,) there is an annual surplus of revenue over expenditure, instead of a deficit, as had been the case for years before, till the island debt amounted to upward of half a million sterling. And with a free constitution, with just and equal laws, it only requires capital, enterprise, and industry to render Jamaica what the Almighty intends it to be, prosperous and happy. Let the cry of ruin cease; no longer complain that labor cannot be procured in the island, but that it is necessary to seek it abroad, and the capital which, but for this suicidal policy, would long

ere this, have been poured into Jamaica, will be employed in the development of her immense resources, and she will take her proper position among the communities of the earth."

The Rev. Dr. King, who visited Jamaica, and spent some time there as a deputation from the Scottish Missionary Society about 1850, says:

"I have inspected some of the mountain residences, and been struck with their great superiority to our highland cottages. I have seen the negroes extracting, by mills of their own making, the saccharine juice from sugar canes of their own growing, and applying an energy to the process such as I have never witnessed in any of the operations of our indolent Highlanders."

John Candler, a highly respectable member of the Society of Friends in England, who has paid several visits to the West Indies, and resided there for many months together, that he might make himself thoroughly acquainted with the true state of affairs, says:

"The change effected in the civil condition of the people, though very great, and at last somewhat sudden, has served to elevate their character in the estimation of all observers. I expected, on landing, to find a race who, having been always oppressed, heaped with contumely, and trod upon, would continue to exhibit some traces of their former degraded condition, some marks of servility that belonged to the slave; but in passing through the country from one end to the other, I should scarcely believe, from what I see, that slavery had ever existed here. Freedom has wrought wonders for the people; there is an air of independence in their carriage and manners, when conversing with you, that is quite astonishing, equal to that of the freest nations; not bold and obtrusive, but attended with a civility and courteousness that are very pleasing, and tell much in their favor. Who that has seen them at work in the cane-fields, or hoeing coffee on the steep hills, or has traveled among their provision grounds in the mountains, can call them an idle people? I have seen them again and again, hundreds and thousands of them, men, women, and children, loaded with provisions and fruit, which they carry on their heads, hurrying down from the hills to Kingston market, carrying weights which no European would encounter, and sweating under the heavy toil, yet all laboring cheerfully because they are free."

Sir Charles Gray, the last Governor of Jamaica, says in one of his recent dispatches, published in the parliamentary papers:

"It is unjust to make a general imputation against them of laziness; for although, in common with the inhabitants of all warm climates, they feel, more than those of cold ones, a liking for repose, and a sense of enjoyment in it, there are few races of men who will work harder or more perseveringly, when they are sure of getting the fruit of their labor. The hamlets, villages, and towns, as they are called, of the negroes, which have sprung up in the interior, and among the mountains, and in which they live in great physical comfort, are a remarkable and interesting feature in the state of the island."

Lord Stanley, son of the Earl of Derby, and recently a member of the British Cabinet, visited Jamaica in 1849, and he says:

"The laborer out of his earnings buys land, builds a cottage, and furnishes it handsomely. I have seen one of these negro houses, belonging to a common field hand, provided with all the comforts of an English farm-house."

BRITISH GUIANA. The government here occupies a proud pre-eminence above all the other local governments of the British West Indies, with regard to the interest it has manifested in the intellectual and moral elevation of the laboring classes. More, probably, is done by the authorities of British Guiana for the education of the people, than in all the other emancipated colonies together; and the beneficial results of this wise policy are seen in the growing intelligence of the people, the spread of true religion, and the commercial increase and prosperity of the colony. No cry of ruin is heard there, but the inhabitants proudly speak of it, and not without reason, as "the magnificent province." One of the correspondents of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society says, in the pamphlet we have referred to:

"Any one, free from personal bias to this or that view of the labor question, looking on the greatly extended cultivation, compared with what it was a few years ago, must conclude that labor is procurable in the colony; and on the other hand, the appearance of the laboring people, creoles and others, and the money which they are known to expend in different ways, cannot but lead one to conclude that they do work, and receive their wages. So far as this colony is concerned, there is no sign of ruin at the present time. Every one knows that the crop of 1857 is the largest ever made in the colony; [N.B., that of 1858 has been larger still;] but while there is so much room to extend the cultivation, there will still be a demand for more laborers. I now see large tracts of country under cultivation that were formerly uncultivated; and I have heard planters say that the estates under their charge never had so much land under cultivation in the time of slavery as they have at the present time."

Another correspondent writes from Georgetown, Demarara:

"Some of those who were formerly slaves not only have proved their persevering industry by becoming possessed of estates, but raise, to some extent, the staple products of the colony. I am not aware that they are *exporters* of produce. I believe some of them would soon become so under guidance and counsel; but they are very extensive producers of staples consumed in the province."

ANTIGUA AND ST. KITTS. Scarcely any effort has been made by the local governments in these islands for the education and general improvement of the industrial classes, so that almost everything that has been accomplished in this respect has been effected through the agency of the missionaries, and with funds sparingly supplied from various missionary institutions in Great Britain. Yet the intellectual and moral development of the emancipated peasantry in these colonies has been far beyond what might have been reasonably expected, while the membership of the several religious denominations established there bears a large proportion to the population. Having resided in both these islands, several years in one, and some months in the other, we had opportunity of be-

coming well acquainted with their condition from actual observation. Cultivated solely by the liberated negroes—for the survivors of a small number of Portuguese immigrants, imported into Antigua some years ago, have left the plantations, and become shopkeepers and rumsellers, contributing all they can to demoralize the creole laborers—these islands, apart from the natural loveliness of tropical scenery, exhibit most striking scenes of agricultural beauty and wealth. In traveling over many hundred miles in the United States and Canada, from June to November, we have seen nothing that will compare with the high state of cultivation kept up in the sugar districts of Antigua and St. Kitts, ruined, as they are alleged to be, by the effects of emancipation. In Antigua may be found a considerable number of sugar estates which have fallen into the hands of a well-known mercantile firm in England, chiefly by the foreclosure of mortgages, which the former proprietors were unable to redeem. One of the firm resides in the colony, and personally superintends the whole of these valuable plantations, which are separately entrusted to the immediate care of experienced planters. While no expense is spared that is essential to their efficient cultivation, a rigid economy is observed, and they are all to be seen, year after year, in a luxurious state of culture, and yielding a handsome revenue to their present holders. In 1854 an intimate friend of our own, who had been fifty years in the island, purchased a valuable sugar estate, which was put up for sale in England under a decree of the Court of Chancery. The sale taking place at a time when West India property had not recovered from the depression which took place after the admission of slave-made sugars to the British market on equal terms with free-labor produce, he obtained it, a cheap bargain, for £5,100. After taking off three valuable crops, which more than repaid the capital invested in the purchase twice over, he refused an offer of £10,000 for the same estate. Such facts speak volumes concerning the ruin brought upon the colonies through emancipation.

Antigua, it will be remembered, was one of the islands that dispensed with the apprenticeship system altogether, and gave immediate and unrestricted freedom to the slaves in 1834; and the planters generally, with a prudence which did not characterize their brethren in Jamaica, endeavored, with success, to establish a good understanding and mutual confidence between themselves and the negroes. Small lots of land were sold out to the emancipated people, and they were encouraged to provide for themselves comfortable homes. There are, in all, eighty-three villages, in which the people reside, overspreading the island. Almost uninterrupted

success has attended this experiment of immediate emancipation, and proved the policy which dictated it to be a wise one. This may be seen in the following statement, which exhibits a comparative view of the amount of sugar exported from that island during the last six years of slavery, the first six years after emancipation, and the last six years to the 31st of December, 1857. No account is taken of the amount absorbed by home consumption during the years of freedom, which would give a still greater preponderance in favor of free labor:

Under slavery, from January, 1828, to December, 1833, inclusive,	79,253 hhds.
After emancipation, from Jan'y, 1835, to Dec'r, 1840, inclusive,	82,455 "
Last six years, from Jan'y, 1852, to Dec'r, 1857, inclusive,	85,050 "

The Antigua Observer, commenting upon the above statement, says:

"Facts opposed to mere vilification must always triumph; and, with facts to support us, we have no hesitation in confidently asserting that, so far as the circumstances of our own island are concerned, putting out of view, of course, the blow which the knocking from under our feet of the props of protection, and consequent monopoly of the home markets, inflicted, almost every interest has decidedly improved since emancipation; that estates, *perfectly unincumbered* and properly conducted, are affording more or less remuneration to their owners; that our peasantry are orderly, sober, and, though not in the European sense of the term, where climate and superabundant population stimulate to exertion, generally industrious; and that our exports of island products, and our trade generally, have kept pace with, and even exceeded considerably, the later years of slavery; while there cannot be a doubt that knowledge of a useful kind, although of spontaneous acquirement, without, till the last few months, any help from the state, has made progressive strides. Labor and its value, like every other commodity, experience the fluctuations of demand, and as the supply proves in bountiful seasons inadequate, then, and only then, do we hear of the rising demands of the laborer for increased wages, and the consequent dissatisfaction of the planter. The contest in this case, very naturally, results in favor of the laborer—the rapidity of tropical vegetation, under such circumstances, rendering concession on the part of his employer imperative. But we never hear of those organized "strikes," so common in England and elsewhere; and, in fact, while in one district, and even on an adjoining plantation, laborer and employer may be found at issue in another district, and on neighboring estates, both parties will be "taking it easy," and the work going on under, perhaps, a compromise, with which both sides are perfectly satisfied. It is simply untrue to say, that such a state of things as we have truthfully described arises from any peculiar aversion of the rural population to labor. We do not find that, practically, labor has ever yet been recognized as a positive *good* by any condition of society, but rather as an unpleasant necessity, entailed by circumstances, which we would all otherwise dispose of if we could; and men, generally, are seldom stimulated to extra exertion but by the pressure of actual wants, or by that yearning after artificial requirements and independence which a high degree of civilization, such as we have no idea of claiming for our laboring population, suggests. In the case of *our* peasantry, there are proprietors and conductors of estates in the island who do not utter the least complaint with respect to labor facilities. They plant, and reap, and ship, year after year, as many, and more hogsheads

of sugar than they ever did, the cost of doing which being absolutely dependent on the season, any extra luxuriance of which is made available at once by the estate laborer to obtain increased wages—the reverse, of course, in unfavorable seasons. But that production, the result of free labor, lags in consequence of freedom, is untrue.”

One of the correspondents of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society writes :

“I have been in the West Indies nearly forty years, and have, I think, been somewhat observant of the condition of the people. One thing is beyond all possibility of doubt—the sum total of human enjoyment and happiness has increased in these colonies, since the abolition of slavery, beyond all calculation. As to “*wrecks, ruins and pathless towns*,” the fact is, that the city of St. John, in Antigua, or the town of Basselene; St. Kitts, were never in such good order, repair, and cleanliness, as at present. It was only the other day that a beautiful stream of water was brought from the mountains into Basselene; and a very handsome fountain, imported from England, now sends forth its bubbling water in the center of the principal square of that town. It is but a few years ago that Antigua expended upward of £20,000 sterling in the erection of a cathedral. All her churches and chapels (and they stud the island) are in good order. During the past year its handsome courthouse has been repaired and improved at an outlay of £3,000. The large building in which are the public library and the treasury has had £2,000 expended on it, while several thousand pounds have been spent upon the government house. These things are not the results of a year's high price of sugar: on the contrary, I can testify, that whenever I visited Antigua during the period of greatest West India depression, I always observed signs of life, and often of progress, in St. John's. All its public institutions are in a creditable state. Then there are the various stations with fire-engines, and a fire-brigade, all of recent date. ‘Pathless towns,’ says Expertus, (one of the correspondents of the London Times;) why, there is no city in Europe where the streets are kept cleaner, or in better order. As to ‘wrecks and ruins,’ Expertus cannot show them there. True, the great earthquake of 1843 did prostrate most of the mills and sugar works, and many fine houses in the town: *then* there was wreck and ruin, but not the work of the emancipated negro: nor did it last. I suppose greater energy could hardly be shown in any country than was manifested there by all classes; and, by aid of a loan from her majesty's government, all was soon restored. Yes, and the loan has been regularly repaid (by installments) to this day, while loans made in the slavery times are still unpaid. Will ‘Expertus’ tell us how Quashee gets possession of, perhaps, an acre or more of land, a cottage, a cow, a pig or two, several goats, fowls, etc., and often a horse and cart, (which is always in requisition for hire on the estates,) and for all of which he contributes his portion of taxes? We, who live among these freed negroes, are simple enough to believe that he has worked, and by the sweat of his brow has obtained and saved the money to purchase his property. It is notorious that every year adds to the number of the small land-owners; while the character of the imports, compared with those of slavery times, shows, beyond all question, that better food, and more and better clothing—far more—are now needed and consumed. I think if Expertus would visit Antigua or St. Kitts. and drive round any of the districts, over the roads kept in such excellent order, and see the carts and horses, owned by these freed negroes, returning from or going to the towns with provisions, etc, or working on the estates, and look at the cultivation of the cane, and, if he ever saw it under slavery, tell us how it compares; and then view the freed people's provision fields, clean and well cultivated, that he would be obliged to confess that there has been some mistake, and that his friends of the West India body have only told him one side of the question.”

crop season, as they are paid only in proportion to the amount of produce manufactured. If the wind happened to be so light as to grind only sufficient canes to make one or two hogsheads of sugar per day, when with a stronger breeze the mill would grind what would yield four or five hogsheads, not only did the planter suffer loss by the spoiling of the canes, but the people could earn only a fraction of a day's wages. The great advantage to be derived by all parties concerned from the substitution of the steam-engine for the wind-mill is therefore very evident.

The Hon. Francis Hincks, the present Governor-General of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, in a letter addressed to Charles Tappan, Esq., and dated January 9, 1858, bears unexceptionable evidence to the beneficial effects of West India emancipation, so far as the islands included in his government are concerned. His government includes Barbadoes, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Grenada and the Grenadines, and Tobago. Mr. Hincks was, a few years ago, Prime Minister in Canada, where he has the reputation, both with his friends and political opponents, of possessing an extraordinary degree of talent and acuteness as a financier, and as a general man of business. He tells us that he has given to the subject a patient investigation, and being upon the spot, with all kinds of official documents relating to those several colonies open to his inspection, his testimony is of the most reliable character. Every part of Mr. Hincks's letter is valuable and important, as illustrative of the value of free over slave labor; but our limits forbid us to do more than give the following extracts:

"As to the relative cost of slave and free labor in this colony, I can supply you with facts in which the most implicit reliance can be placed. They have been furnished to me by the proprietor of an estate containing 300 acres of land, and situated at a distance of about twelve miles from the shipping port. The estate referred to produced, during slavery, equal on an average to 140 hogsheads of sugar of the present weight, and required 230 slaves. It is now worked by 90 free laborers, 60 adults, and 30 under sixteen years of age. Its average product during the last seven years has been 194 hogsheads. The total cost of labor has been £770 16s., or £3 19s. 2d. the hogshead of seventeen hundred pounds. To estimate the cost of slave labor, the value of 230 slaves must be ascertained, and I place them at what would have been a low average, £50 sterling each, which would make the entire stock amount to £11,500. This, at 6 per cent. interest, which, on such property, is much too low an estimate, would give £690; cost of clothing, food, and medical attendance I estimate at £3 10s., making £805; total cost, £1,495, or £10 12s. per hogshead, while the cost of free labor on the same estate is under £4. The cost of maintenance of slaves is a point on which I have not been able to obtain any reliable information. The highest estimate I have had is £8, the lowest £3. It is a point of no importance now, as far as these colonies are concerned; but in comparing the cost of free labor with slave in the present day it is desirable to be accurate. I have been told that the average cost in Cuba is \$30 per annum, and if so, there can be no doubt that this, added to the

interest on the value of the slaves, would bring up the cost of labor to a much higher price than that given for free labor in any of the British colonies. I need scarcely remind you that the cost per head of slaves must be calculated on the entire population, men, women, and children, a considerable percentage of which will furnish no labor in return.

"It may interest you to know the comparative value of property in this island during slavery and freedom. The estate just referred to, containing 300 acres of land, was worth, during slavery, £50 per acre, or £15,000; and I have estimated the slaves round at £50 each, which would be £11,500. I am not aware what the compensation money amounted to per head in Barbadoes, but I have no doubt to £30 at least. (N. B. It was upward of £47.) After the award of compensation for the slaves, the estate was sold during the apprenticeship for £25,000, and was purchased a few years ago by the present proprietor for £30,000; which price I have no doubt he could obtain for it at any moment. It is proper I should add that I have taken the estate, regarding which I have furnished you with the foregoing particulars, as furnishing a fair illustration of the comparative productiveness and cost of cultivation during slavery and freedom. I could multiply instances in which there have been similar results.

"I shall now proceed to the consideration of the complaint against the creoles of African descent that they are indolent, and that they have abandoned the sugar plantations. This is a subject involved in much greater difficulty than the one on which I have already treated. I admit that the planters generally, in several of the British colonies, would vehemently maintain the correctness of this charge. I am, however, bound to affirm that, after a most patient investigation, I have been unable to arrive at such a conclusion. There is no doubt that the condition of the laboring classes ought to be worse in Barbadoes than in any of the other colonies. In Barbadoes land is exorbitantly dear, being worth, in small quantities, from \$400 to \$600 per acre. Wages are from tenpence to one shilling per day, as I have already stated. There are only five working days in the week, except during crop time. With all these disadvantages, the small proprietors in this island, holding less than five acres of land, increased in sixteen years from about 1,100 to 3,537. I doubt much whether such a proof of industrious habits could be furnished with regard to a similar class of laborers in any other country in the world. I adduce the above remarkable fact to prove that in this island there has been no want of industry on the part of creoles of African descent. I think that in those colonies in which the sugar estates have been partially abandoned, we must look to other causes than the indolence of the laborers. In all those colonies land is abundant and comparatively cheap, and I need not remind any one acquainted with the settlement of land in America, whether in the United States or the British Provinces, that where land is cheap and abundant, labor will be dear and scarce. The poor Irish immigrant pursues exactly the same course in Canada which the creole of African descent does in Guiana or Trinidad. He endeavors to get land of his own, and to become a proprietor instead of a laborer.

"In this island there can be no doubt whatever that emancipation has been a great boon to all classes. Real estate has increased in price, and is a more certain and advantageous investment than in the time of slavery; the estates are much better and more economically cultivated; and the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly contented.

"With regard to the condition of the African race, I can answer your queries with unmixed satisfaction, and with the conviction that there will be little, if any, difference of opinion among well-informed persons on that subject. The improvement which has taken place in the religious condition of the people of all classes, and the progress of education, are quite equal to what could reasonably have been expected. The creoles are advancing rapidly

in civilization. You have yourself made the acquaintance of men who were formerly slaves, and who are now in independent circumstances, and enjoying a large share of public respect. . . . It is impossible to compare the present statistics of crime with those during slavery, when the great bulk of our ordinary offenses, petty thefts and assaults, were summarily punished by the managers and overseers of estates. You have had an opportunity of satisfying yourself that the offenses in this island are not of an aggravated character. That there is much greater security for person and property now than there was during slavery does not admit of a doubt."

Similar testimony might have been given at much greater length, but sufficient has been adduced to show the fallacy of those assumptions which have been so confidently advanced as to the failure of emancipation, and the ruin which it is alleged to have brought both upon the proprietors and the peasantry of the West Indies. These assumptions are made in ignorance of the financial history of the colonies prior to the abolition of slavery, and the embarrassed and ruined condition into which they had sunk when the change took place; and also of their actual state since emancipation and at the present time. If insolvent planters, ruined by slavery and their own reckless extravagance, have failed to carry on an expensive sugar or coffee cultivation, without the necessary capital to pay the wages of their laborers, and have consequently been compelled to relinquish their estates to mortgagees, or throw them out of cultivation altogether; if others have not succeeded in the attempt to make free men work without wages, and have injured their own or their employer's interests by driving the laborers from the plantations; and if the British government by suddenly destroying the monopoly of the British markets, which, through the whole history of slavery, the West India colonist enjoyed, and thus threw them into a competition with other producers which they were ill-prepared to enter upon, and which consummated with many the ruin which had been in progress for more than half a century; none of these things can with truth be classed among the results of emancipation. They have retarded the success of the great experiment, but have not prevented it. The triumphant results which it has already wrought out in many of the colonies, notwithstanding these several hinderances, and which it is now working out in all the others, prove that it is always both wise and safe to do what is just and right, and leave the consequences of such well-doing to the great and wise Disposer of all events. Most completely have the predictions of alarmists been falsified. It would be difficult to conceive a wider contrast between the condition of things as the planters imagined they would be (the idleness, riot, and debauchery, the ruin and desolation they anticipated as *sure* to follow the emancipation of the slaves) and those pictures of rural industry and

social comfort, improving agriculture and growing opulence, awakening intelligence and moral progress, which are exhibited in the extracts we have furnished. Slavery was the destroyer, emancipation is the restorer. The one tended always, through its history, to impoverishment and ruin; the other has awakened industry and confidence, and laid the foundation of prosperity and wealth.

None but dreaming enthusiasts could have expected that emancipation would at once restore the wasted substance of the planters, or suddenly, as if by miracle, advance the down-trodden negroes, debased and embruted by years of slavery, and excluded from mental and moral culture, to a high degree of civilization, intelligence, and virtue, such as can be found only among those who have enjoyed through life the advantages of education and civil and religious liberty. All that could be reasonably hoped for has been realized. The nation has been freed from the shame and guilt of sanctioning and perpetuating what the conscience of the people felt to be a monstrous system of oppression and crime, which reflected the darkest dishonor upon a Christian people and government. The dread of insurrection and servile war which, day and night, continually haunted the colonists while slavery existed, has given place to a sense of perfect security; so that instead of a considerable military force, supported by a formidable and expensive militia embodiment, to keep slaves in awe, a few native police, appointed chiefly from among the peasantry themselves, are found sufficient for the maintenance of peace and good order. A more profitable market has been opened for the employment of British shipping, and the consumption of British manufactures; while hordes of wretched, discontented slaves, robbed of all the rights of humanity, ground to the dust by oppression and cruelty, and rapidly wasting to depopulation, have been transformed into a satisfied, industrious, and improving peasantry, rapidly increasing in numbers, and grateful for the advantages which the philanthropy and the religion of the nation have conferred upon them.

If due attention had been given to the instruction of the juvenile portion of the emancipated people in the several colonies immediately after the abolition of slavery, there might have been even a better state of things than now exist. But none of the local governments, except that of British Guiana, have taken any effectual measures for establishing a general system of education. In all the other colonies this has yet to be done, and it may yet be a work of considerable time, as some of the influential men in the local parliaments have yet to be awakened to a sense of its importance, and are more afraid of the effects of education than of ignorance. It reflects

credit upon the colored class that, in the face of the manifold disadvantages under which they have labored, they exhibit unmistakable proofs of intellectual and moral progress. In two of the islands, where a system of responsible government similar to that of Canada has been adopted, its chief administration has been intrusted to colored men; while, in another, one of the same class has filled the highest office known in the colony, that of lieutenant governor. Several members of the privy council in Jamaica, and also of the legislative council, are Creoles of African descent, and one of pure African blood; while on the judicial bench and at the bar, in the halls of legislation, among the magistracy of the islands, in the pulpit and the medical faculty, among the most enterprising merchants, and wealthy planters and proprietors, they are to be found, exhibiting equal intelligence and ability with competitors of fairer hue, and practically refuting the pitiful and senseless slander which would brand the colored man as an inferior type of humanity, and exclude him from the common brotherhood of the human race.

ART. III.—LAY REPRESENTATION.

THE Methodist Episcopal Church is again excited to some extent by the discussion of this subject. Another effort is in progress to effect a change by which laymen shall be admitted to a participation in its sovereignty and to seats in all its councils. About thirty-one years since an agitation, which had been kept up for seven or eight years, resulted in a secession, and the formation of the Methodist Protestant Church. That Church is an exemplification of the tendencies of the measures now contended for. If lay delegates are to act equally with the ministry upon all questions which concern the latter, as has been suggested by an eminent writer, they must go, not only into the general and annual conferences, but also into the councils by which the appointments are made. This will soon result in a dismissal of our episcopacy and presiding eldership, and the Methodist Protestant organization will be reproduced. Has the success of that Church been such as to warrant the adoption of its polity by the Methodist Episcopal Church? At its organization it claimed for its distinguishing principles the approval of "the people" of Methodism. It took away at once many thousands of our members, including some of the most wealthy, with a considerable number of our ministers, including some of the most eloquent and popular. It appropriated to itself some of our

best church edifices. And yet it numbers at this time only seventy thousand. Since its origin the increase of our Church, which was thought to be so much in need of reform, including the north and the south, amounts to one million one hundred and seventy-three thousand and fifty-seven, in addition to repairing the losses caused by the secession. Indeed,* the prosperity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, judging it by comparison with that of the other Churches of the land, has been truly extraordinary. We do not refer to it for the purpose of boasting, but for the purpose of argument; we are compelled to do so. The attention of the reader is invited to a single statement upon this point. The ministers of the English national establishment, from which the Protestant Episcopal Church has sprung, were in this country as early as the year 1607; the Lutherans were here in 1630; the Baptists and Presbyterians in 1636; the first Methodists landed on the shores of this western world in 1760. So that the age of Protestant Episcopalianism in this country is two hundred and fifty-three years; that of Lutheranism two hundred and thirty years; that of the Baptists two hundred and twenty-four; that of Presbyterianism about the same; that of Methodism one hundred years. The Protestant Episcopal Church has one hundred and thirty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven communicants; the Lutheran one hundred and forty-six thousand and sixty-two; the Baptist denomination nine hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred and fifty-one; the Presbyterians, including both the Old and the New School organizations, four hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and twenty; the Methodist Episcopal, including north and south, one million six hundred and seventy-three thousand and fifty-seven—lacking only nineteen thousand two hundred and forty-three of having as many communicants as those four leading denominations put together.

In order to estimate justly our comparative success, we must take into the account the advantages additional to antecedence with which three of those denominations were favored. The English Episcopalians were established by law in some of the colonies, and their successors, composing the Protestant Episcopal Church, are as a Church in possession of immense wealth, the result of grants made by the British crown in colonial times. The Presbyterians were backed by the Churches of that denomination in England; by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which was, and is now, established by law; and by the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, which was, and is now, in receipt of bounty from the British crown. The Lutherans were reinforced by men and means from the continent of Europe, where, in several countries, they were established by law. They

formed settlements in this country. In 1700 three thousand of them came from the Palatinate and settled in New York. Whereas the Methodists, at the time of their appearance in this country, were poor and persecuted, and few in number, both here and in Europe.

It might be supposed that such wonderful success would be sufficient to secure us against a restless desire for change, but it is not. There are several ways in which occasional discontent may be accounted for. In the first place, we are constantly assailed by our brethren of other denominations. Finding that they cannot, with advantage to themselves, controvert our doctrines, they fall upon our economy. This is done not only in their publications but in personal intercourse. Many of our members, and some of our ministers, become perplexed. This is allowed to go on for years without any earnest effort upon our part to defend our system, or to enlighten our people generally as to the grounds upon which its peculiarities are justified. The result is that its difficulties—for the best system will have its difficulties—come to be very distinctly perceived and felt, and made the subject of conversation in Methodist circles; and many, who have not investigated its philosophy, or compared it intelligently with other systems, begin to think that it is very defective, and may very easily be improved. Secondly, in our rapid accumulation of members we receive many who, although they have been converted at our altars, believe our doctrines, and appreciate highly our means of spiritual improvement, bring with them a lingering preference for other systems of polity in connection with which they have been educated. This preference is easily excited in times of controversy.

So far from success preventing or allaying the desire for change, it is given, by some, as the chief reason for fundamental changes. We must reform because of our success. And, still more remarkable, we must reform, not to imitate those who have been more successful—we cannot find such—but those whose success bears no comparison with ours. We must conform to those much less successful, in order that we may be more successful. It is as if a farmer, having an important agricultural implement—a mowing or thrashing machine for instance—superior to those owned and used by his neighbors, accomplishing three times as much work with less effort and expense, should be urged to have it remodeled after the pattern of those so much inferior, for the purpose of improving it. We need scarcely suggest the probable fate of such a proposition. Whatever semblances of wisdom superior genius might detect in it, plain common sense would reject it without deliberation.

It is not the intention of our reformers to originate a new system

upon the principles which they advocate, to run side by side with ours, until the comparative merits of the two are fairly tested. Our present system must be exterminated. Those who believe it to be the most Scriptural, who regard it as supplying all necessary checks, and guarding all the rights of the laity, while it gives ample freedom to ministerial zeal and enterprise, must consent to see it displaced by one which they deem unscriptural, and comparatively inefficient. Lay delegation has no hope of great success so long as a Church like ours exists. If it can take the property which we have accumulated in one hundred years, and turn us out of doors penniless, in case we are so perverse as not to expire at once at its bidding, it will have fine times. It will surely succeed.

But what is wrong in our system, that we must pause in the midst of unparalleled progress to repudiate the measures so singularly successful, and to engage in a thorough reconstruction? It would seem that there is scarcely anything right. It allows the laity no voice, no power, in its government. It is monarchical, antirepublican, aristocratical, oligarchical, and popish. It denies to its lay members the right of self-government, of living under a government emanating from the governed, the right of representation, and the right of freedom. It is at variance with American ideas, and is dangerous to civil and religious liberty. We may well wonder how such a system ever obtained the least favor in this land of liberty. Its success is one of the most extraordinary phenomena of the times, a mystery, a miracle almost.

All those charges are without foundation. They are the product of very superficial views of the subjects to which they relate. It is not true that the laity have no voice, no power in the government of the Church. No one can become a member of it, or be licensed to exhort, or to preach, or be admitted to the itinerancy, without their formal consent expressed at different times. They act a very important part in the judiciary of the Church. No layman can be excluded from the Church unless tried and adjudged guilty by a committee of laymen, nor can he be denied the right of an appeal to a higher tribunal of laymen. In addition to all this, the laity hold in their hands the support of the minister, determining how much he shall receive. And if they fail to meet their own proposition they cannot be held liable as in a case of legal indebtedness. The ministry has no means of enforcing payment. The laity has the money power in its hands.

Some make light of this consideration; they treat it with ridicule. That which I have called the money-power they hold to be no power at all; but this is sheer affectation. They are alone in this estimate.

Great account is made of this power in civil government. That distinguished patriot and statesman, Alexander Hamilton, in justifying that part of the Constitution of the United States which relates to the support of the President, says :

"The third ingredient toward constituting the vigor of the executive authority is an adequate provision for support. It is evident that without a proper attention to this article, the separation of the executive from the legislative department would be merely nominal and nugatory. The legislature, with a discretionary power over the salary and emolument of the chief magistrate, could render him as obsequious to their will as they might see proper to make him. They might, in most cases, either reduce him to famine, or tempt him by largesses to surrender at discretion his judgment to their inclinations. These expressions, taken in all the latitude of the terms, would doubtless convey more than is intended. There are men who could neither be distressed nor won into a sacrifice of their duty ; but this stern virtue is the growth of few soils ; and, in the main, it will be found that a power over a man's support is a power over his will. If it were necessary to confirm so plain a truth by facts, examples would not be wanting, even in this country, of the intimidation or seduction of the executive by the terrors or allurements of the pecuniary arrangements of the legislative body."

Again, on the provisions for the support of the judges, he says : "In the general course of human nature, a power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will."*

The dependence of the Crown of England upon the Parliament for its supplies, is supposed to be a powerful check upon royal prerogative, and one of the most effectual safeguards of the liberty of the people. The importance attached to it may be seen in the jealousy with which it was watched and guarded, and the tenacity with which it was maintained when Charles I. and James II. attempted to raise moneys independently of the Parliament. And what would be the voice of the American people if an attempt were made to transfer the various revenues of the Republic and the right of appropriation to the President ? Would not our ears be stunned by the outcry and din about uniting the purse and the sword ? And yet, when it is shown that the money power of the Church is in the hands of the laity ; that the ministers have no right to collect and appropriate one cent for their support independently of lay officers ; and further, that these officers have no right to tax the members, or force from them a cent, by legal or ecclesiastical processes, we are told that all this is nothing ; it does not amount to power, it imposes no check. If the ministers held at their disposal the livings of more than six thousand laymen who were obliged to devote all their time to the service of the Church, we should hear of the money power of the ministry in unmeasured terms.

This power is not referred to as the only check upon clerical pre-

* Federalist, pp. 336, 331.

rogative, or corrective of clerical misconduct. It is not to be resorted to for slight causes. It is the *dernier resort*. The minister may, for just cause, turn his back upon the people, and wipe off the dust of his feet as a testimony against them; but such would be an extreme measure, rarely adopted. The power of declaring and prosecuting a war for the redress of national grievances is a real, a terrible power; but it is not the only, it is the ultimate remedy, to be resorted to when all the contrivances of diplomacy have failed. The pretense that this power is null because the laity are too good to use it, will not bear examination. The laity of other denominations often use it, even in violation of solemn contracts. They drive ministers away by refusing to pay them, often alleging that they cannot; and yet, in calling and settling a successor, they will agree to pay, and will actually pay him a much larger sum than they engaged, but failed to pay to his predecessor.

In completion of the statement of the power of the laity, I would add that all the Church property, excepting the Book Concern, is held and controlled by laymen as trustees.

Some of the women of our country have adopted the notion that, as a class, they are denied their rights. Conventions have been held, periodicals published, and speeches made, with the view of securing to them what, in their opinion, the government unjustly withholds. Let us now suppose that concessions are made to them to the extent that no one can be a voter at the popular elections, or become eligible to civil office, without coming personally under their review, and obtaining their consent, so that the young aspirant for political privilege, having reached the age of twenty-one, may be put down for life by their adverse decision; suppose that no foreigner can become a citizen without the consent of one or more ladies; suppose that they also hold the public revenues, and that all in power are dependent upon them for support, and that they can withhold that support without being held to any amenability; suppose that they have also the control of the public property; and, finally, that no one of them can be tried for any offense except by a jury of her own sex, would they have reason, in such case, to assert persistently that they have no power, no voice in the government, because ineligible to seats in Congress, or the state legislature, or to the office of governor, or of president? It would be just as reasonable as is the declaration that the laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church have no power in its government, because they are not admitted to the General or the annual conferences.

The pretense that the government of our Church is monarchical is unworthy of serious consideration. A disputant who can identify

a system of government which vests its supremacy in six thousand men, with one which vests it in one man, will not be very discriminating in any of his premises or conclusions. There is more plausibility in the charge of antirepublicanism. We have no desire, and shall make no effort, to prove that our Church government is republican. That form of government is best which most easily and effectually accomplishes the ends of government. The ends of civil and ecclesiastical government differ in many respects. Besides, there is no definite standard of republicanism. Its modifications are as numerous as are republican communities. The ground which we assume distinctly and fearlessly is, that any test that will convict our Church government of antirepublicanism will reduce our civil government to the same predicament, and likewise those Churches which claim to be pre-eminently republican. The Rev. Dr. Smyth, of Charleston, S. C., in his work on "Ecclesiastical Republicanism," written for the purpose of proving the Presbyterian Church republican, and exalting it over others in this respect, applies the following principles to the Methodist Episcopal Church, affirming that they are not found in its government and Discipline:

"Now, among the principles which are fundamental to the very existence of a republic we find these:

"1. The equality of all its members, implying that the laws are made equally by all, acting through their representatives, and that none are elevated to any station in which they can legislate independently of the people."

Let us examine this before we proceed farther. If by the *members* of the republic and the *people* be meant all that are subject to its authority, our civil government is not republican. The population of the United States come under the distinction of the ruling portion, and the mere subject portion. Not that this distinction is often made in terms, but it exists in fact. The ruling portion, in other words, the political voters, are about one eighth of the whole population. The right of participating in the government, in any way, is denied to privates and non-commissioned officers in the army, to unnaturalized foreigners, to all males under twenty-one years of age, to slaves, and a large number of free blacks and Indians. Tried by this rule, the Protestant Methodist Church is antirepublican. Its ruling power is restricted to ministers and white male members over twenty-one years of age. The Presbyterian Church falls under the same condemnation. Its ruling power is in the hands of its elders, presbyters, or bishops alone. If, on the other hand, he means by the terms *members* and *people* the ruling portion of the people, the sovereign people, Methodism abides the test. The sovereign portion of the people of Methodism are upon an

equality. The laws are made equally by all acting through their representatives, and none are elevated to any station in which they can act independently of the people.

The second principle which this author lays down is as follows :

"The sovereign power of the people, as the source of all authority, their intervention in public affairs, their election of all officers; the consequent responsibility of all officers to them for the discharge of their duty and the management of all funds; and the knowledge and control, through their representatives, of all expenditures."

Here again the whole effect will depend upon the sense of the word *people*. It has a variety of meanings. It frequently signifies, 1. The entire mass of the population; 2. The subjects of government as distinguished from rulers; 3. That portion of the population of our country in which the sovereignty resides, as when we say the people are sovereign, the people rule, the sovereign people, meaning thereby the four millions who rule, not only themselves, but also the thirty-two millions. Thus the terms *people* and *rulers* become synonyms. Now, if by the people be meant the entire mass of the population, our civil polity is again condemned. The prerogatives stated are wielded by a very small portion of the people, about one eighth. And not less are all Church governments condemned. But if by the people are meant the ruling, the sovereign portion, Methodism comes forth from the ordeal unhurt. Her presbyters are her people in this sense, corresponding with the sovereign people, or presbyters, of the state.

The charges of aristocracy and oligarchy are susceptible of being disposed of in a similar way. Those who make them rarely attempt to prove them. Generally, they have a very indistinct perception of the meaning of the terms they employ. Dr. Smyth makes some remarkable statements. He says of our civil government: "Practically, it is a republican aristocracy, the government being conducted by a part of the people." Again: "It may therefore be denominated as truly an aristocracy as a democracy." Again, speaking of the Jewish system, he says: "And this was in no respect a monarchical, but an aristocratical, that is, a republican form." He also admits that the aristocratical element exists in his own Church, and justifies it. We can prove that the state and also sister Churches are aristocratical, by any argument by which it can be proved that our ecclesiastical system is aristocratical. Indeed, if, as Dr. Smyth says, to be aristocratical is to be republican, we need not be much alarmed at either the accusations or the arguments of our opponents.

But does not our system deny the right of self-government? That it does is gravely alleged. This is assumed by the memorial

from Philadelphia, addressed to the late General Conference. To resolve this question, all that is necessary is to ascertain the meaning of the terms employed. If by the right of self-government be meant the right of communities to be governed by their own laws and officers, exclusive of any foreign jurisdiction, our Church is self-governed. What other jurisdiction than its own does it acknowledge? If we mean by a self-governed community one in which the sovereign power is vested in many of the citizens, and the sovereigns are themselves subject to the laws they enact, and amenable to the tribunals they create, in opposition to one in which the sovereignty is held and wielded by an absolute monarch or a despotic aristocracy, acknowledging no subjection to the laws of the realm they govern, then is our Church self-governed. The supreme power is vested in thousands, and subordinate administrative power in tens of thousands, and the rulers and the ruled are alike subject to the law. There is no way of proving that our Church is not self-governed which does not involve the consequence that the State is not self-governed. The principle relied upon for this purpose is thus stated by a writer on lay delegation: "All the members of a state should have an equal voice in making the laws of a state, and all the members of a Church should have an equal right in making the laws of a Church."

This condemns all existing governments, civil and ecclesiastical. Fully applied, it would inaugurate in Church and State a condition of hopeless anarchy. It would invest every man, woman, and child, black or white, native or foreign, savage or civilized, with all the attributes of sovereignty. It would sanction follies far beyond the worst vagaries of women's rights conventions.

Certain modifications of this principle are pertinaciously urged. We are told that to govern without the consent of the governed is unjust. But no one in the Methodist Episcopal Church is governed without his consent. Every member joins it voluntarily, and may withdraw from it whenever he becomes dissatisfied with its institutions, its doctrines, its measures, its members, or anything pertaining to it. Should it be said that our people are governed without their consent because their wills are not directly consulted as to whether the government should remain as it is or be changed, we answer, If this be true the majority of the citizens of our Republic are governed without their consent. When are our females consulted upon questions of civil government? What power have they over the laws to which they are subject? The same may be said not only of all males during their minority, but also of the entire army, and all engaged in the naval service of the United States,

excepting the commissioned officers. All are governed without their consent except the privileged fraction legally entitled to a political vote. There is this difference in favor of our Church: the subjects of the State are born under this subjection, and can escape from it only by expatriation; whereas the members of the Church become such voluntarily, and remain such no longer than they choose, and can throw off its jurisdiction without changing their residence, or their business, or any of the relations of citizenship.

It is also objected that ours is not a "government emanating from the governed." Those employing this maxim rarely give any clue to their understanding of it, or illustrate in the least degree its application as an argument against our polity. In this they seem to act with more sagacity than candor. The only process by which it can be made to condemn our system will be found to be still more condemnatory of our civil government. When did the mere subject portion of the Republic confer power upon the sovereign portion? The latter assumed it in the beginning, and have held it ever since. The sovereign portion of the people of Methodism have conferred upon the subject portion prerogatives by virtue of which none can graduate into the sovereignty without their formal consent, but the sovereigns of the state have done no such thing. The only way in which the governing persons in the state derive their power from the governed is this: the representative rulers derive their authority to perform particular acts of government for themselves and the body of the sovereigns, from the latter, who consent to be subject to the laws they have made by proxy. With this exception, so much in our favor, the parallel between the state and our ecclesiastical system is perfect.

Some who use this maxim as an argument for change, tacitly assume (they too are cautious to assert) that none can be justly governed except they have had a part in making the laws to which they are subject, or have given to them their formal authoritative consent; that by the governed the maxim intends *all* the governed. The absurdity of this view is manifest. It places the scepter in the hands of every new-born babe, as well as those of every other age and description.

The most plausible design and effect of the application of this maxim to the Methodist Episcopal Church, as an objection and an instrument of reform, is that the sovereignty should be held by the laity; and the ministry should possess no power but what is delegated to them by the laity. In this way every layman becoming a minister would be disfranchised. He would surrender all claim to sovereignty, and become a mere subject, exercising just so much

power as the laity would endow him with as their agent. This would realize the highest philosophy of some of our reformers.

This maxim is intelligible and valuable as the protest of a community, capable of originating and sustaining a government for itself, against being held in subjection by a foreign power, or being ruled by those who refuse subjection to the laws they make and administer; but as an objection to the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church it is utterly unintelligible and worthless.

We must also institute a distinct inquiry respecting the right of representation. Our reformers assert that is not recognized by our system so far as the laity are concerned. This ground is taken by the memorial from Philadelphia. But this rests upon the further assumption, that a particular mode of constituting representatives is essential to the fact of representation. It presupposes that none can be represented unless they have a direct agency in the appointment of their representatives. This may be shown to be untenable by numerous facts, one of which must suffice for the present. The basis of representation in our civil government is the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, with all the Indians that are taxed, and three fifths of all the slaves. To ascertain the number of the people, the census is required to be taken every ten years. Thus we see that the whole community, young and old, male and female, white and colored, with the exception of the Indians not taxed, and two fifths of all the slaves, are professedly represented in our national legislature. To say that none can be represented but those who vote in the elections for representatives is, in effect, to say that a majority of the people of this Republic are not represented in its government, and to convict its Constitution of absurdity.

The arguments of our opponents upon this question are often based upon the supposition that it is essential to representation that the representative be chosen by the particular class of the community to which he belongs, to represent that class alone. Upon this ground it has been demanded, with an air of triumph, "How can ministers represent laymen?" The absurdities flowing from this assumption are numerous and amusing. We should be tempted to entertain our readers with some of them had we sufficient space; but we must forego amusement at this time. To the question, "How can ministers represent laymen?" we answer, Just as easily as laymen can represent ministers. What is the hinderance? Ministers come from the laity, and are constantly mingling with them. They have as good an opportunity of knowing their wants as parents have of knowing the wants of their children. They do not

assume to represent them in relation to their temporal interests as merchants, or mechanics, or agriculturists, or lawyers, or physicians, but as Christians merely. They have to do with their spiritual wants and obligations alone. Why, then, cannot ministers represent laymen? The interests of both classes are identical. Would an intelligent, scientific, successful farmer be disqualified for representing farmers by being made a professor in an agricultural college, or being otherwise devoted to the instruction of men in farming? The following remarks by Alexander Hamilton are relevant here: "The idea of an actual representation of all classes of the people by persons of each class is altogether visionary." Again: "It is a sound and important principle that the representative ought to be acquainted with the interests and circumstances of his constituents. But this principle can extend no further than to those circumstances and interests to which the authority and care of the representative relate. Our ignorance of a variety of minute and particular objects which do not lie within the compass of legislation, is consistent with every attribute necessary to a due performance of the legislative trust."*

There would be as much propriety in ministers clamoring for a distinct representation by ministers in the several departments of civil government, as there is in this demand of laymen for a distinct representation by laymen in the supreme councils of the Church. Nothing less than the presence of both laymen and ministers, with equal rights as classes, in all the legislative, judicial, and executive bodies in the country, civil and ecclesiastical, so that each class will be distinctly represented, and be able to check and balance the action of the other, will meet the principles laid down to reform the Methodist Episcopal Church. Those principles, pushed to their legitimate practical consequences, would soon eventuate in the union of Church and State.

This alleged right of the laity is put upon the ground that "taxation and representation should always be concomitant." But if being taxed gives the right to a direct class representation (for this is the representation claimed,) numerous subjects of our civil government are denied their rights in this respect. Women, and unnaturalized foreigners, and many others, as I have shown, are not allowed the privilege of voting, and yet they are taxed. Ministers of the Gospel are taxed, yet without such a representation as is claimed for the laity. Besides, the laity of Methodism are not taxed. To prove that they are, it will be necessary to destroy the distinction between paying taxes and making voluntary contributions. The

* Federalist, pp. 152, 259.

Philadelphia memorial contains the most plausible argument to prove that the laity are taxed that has yet appeared. It is as follows :

"That the laity are taxed for the support of the ministry by stronger obligations than human laws can impose, we think you will not deny. If you are good men and true, you are moved by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel. Necessity is laid upon you. Nay, woe be unto you if you preach it not. And can you go this warfare at your own expense? Must you not live of the altar while you minister at it? And who shall pay the expense of this warfare? Who shall supply the sacrifice for the altar? Must not the laity do it? To this you answer, emphatically, Yes. If, then, the laity refuse or neglect their duty, and you are thereby prevented from performing yours, will not the woe fall upon them? Surely the laity will refuse to support you, as much at the peril of their happiness as you will refuse to minister at yours. We submit, then, that we are taxed by the same law which compels you to minister; and by the same law are entitled to a representation."

This is certainly a very forcible presentation of the relative obligations of preaching on the one hand, and contributing for the support of the ministry on the other; but it contains a cluster of fallacies. 1. It assumes that our laity are not represented in our Church councils. 2. It assumes that taxation gives the right, not to representation simply, but to a distinct class representation. 3. Should we, for the sake of the argument, admit the foregoing assumptions to be correct, there would remain this singular fallacy: a right to representation in the General Conference is claimed, as if that were the body imposing the taxes, while the premises acknowledge that it is not. They are declared to be imposed by a much higher authority, namely, that which imposes upon ministers the obligation to preach. "We are taxed," say the memorialists, "by the same law which compels you to minister, and by the same law are entitled to a representation." This must of course mean a representation in the council from which the law proceeds, otherwise the argument is manifestly illogical. So far then as this argument is concerned, the memorial was sent to the wrong place. The representation must be in those high and awful councils from which emanate the laws of God's universal kingdom. It will be seen at a glance that the ministry is in the same condition of disfranchisement. Perhaps we have misunderstood the design of these brethren, and are doing them injustice. They say: "We do not wish this paper to be looked upon as a petition." Did they intend that the General Conference should unite with them in a demand for a ministerial and lay representation in Heaven's august parliament?

A direct class representation is claimed as necessary to freedom. "We merely wish," says the memorial, "for the good of the Church, that its members may be permitted to feel that they are at least as

free in the Church as they are in the State—not serfs, not subjects, not underlings; but your companions, your fellows, your peers—and, under God, a *free* and self-governed people.” One very obvious consequence of the application of this assumption to civil government is, that ministers of the Gospel, in this country, are not politically free. They are denied what our reformers call “rational liberty.” In what state in this great Republic are they represented, as a class, by ministers? Several of the states’ constitutions exclude them, by express provision, from any office in the government. The Constitution of the state of Delaware may be given as an example. It contains the following: “No ordained clergyman or preacher of the Gospel, of any denomination, shall be capable of holding any office in this state, or of being a member of either branch of the legislature, while he continues in the exercise of the pastoral or clerical functions.” The Constitution of the United States does not contain such a provision. Ministers of the Gospel may be elected to Congress; but then they must go there, not as ministers, or to represent the ministry, but merely as citizens to represent citizens. They are not sent by ministers. If one of the political parties considers a minister available as a candidate, and he is desirous or willing to go, he may be taken up and elected; but he must lay aside, for the time being, his clerical character. Ministers of the Gospel have no distinctive representation in Congress, or in any civil legislature in the country. Under the same conditions laymen may go to the General Conference. Let them lay aside the character of laymen, and become presbyters in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the way is open to them.

The relation of the clergymen of this country to the civil government attracted the attention of that acute observer De Tocqueville. He remarks:

“This led me to examine more attentively than I had hitherto done the station which the American clergy occupy in political society. I learned, with surprise, that they filled no public appointments; not one of them is to be met with in the administration, and they are not represented in the legislative assemblies. In several states the law excludes them from political life; public opinion in all.”

The truth of the latter remark has been recently exemplified in Pennsylvania. A Lutheran minister was elected to Congress, and was consequently required by the Synod of the Church to resign his ecclesiastical position.

Should it be said, in reply to this argument, that ministers of the Gospel have political freedom because they have the right to vote in the election of civil rulers, we rejoin, this would be a relinquish-

have no doubt that some of these brethren have greatly underrated their abilities. They can easily refute those taunts; but if they cannot, it does not follow that no one can. If we have given them too much credit for ability they are surely unfit to be Methodist Church legislators. As to our Church government not being American, as is charged, the position has its origin in very superficial views of the subject. Somehow the American people give it the preference. It suits them. Nor is it in the least degree at variance with civil and religious freedom. It guards that sacred boon more effectually than any of those systems which have so boastfully assumed its special guardianship. It places civil and ecclesiastical supremacy in different hands, whereas those systems, offered to us as models, place them in the same hands, a measure which constitutes the basis of all Church and State establishments. Under our present system it would be impossible to unite Church and State, though every man, woman, and child in the United States were a Methodist. The system furnishes a constitutional obstruction. The first step toward the removal of that obstruction is a lay delegation. Then the danger would commence. As a patriot and philanthropist I am opposed to it. It is thought to be very important to keep apart legislative, judicial, and executive powers, by vesting them in different persons; but there seems to be no just apprehension of the danger of uniting civil and ecclesiastical supremacy in the same persons, unless it be in the persons of ministers, as though to be constrained by the love of Christ to preach the Gospel transformed them into the most dangerous men. The separation of these jurisdictions is the great problem which Italian patriotism desires to solve. God grant that they may be soon separated, not to be reunited in the persons of laymen, but to remain separate forever. If we could have things according to our own mind in this country, we would have no minister of the Gospel in Congress, or in any civil office, until he had given up his parchments as a presbyter in the Church. Nor would we allow any layman to unite in his possession civil and ecclesiastical power by sitting in the civil legislature and in the supreme council of the Church. If any would have supreme ecclesiastical power he should disgorge the civil. And if he would have the civil he should relinquish the ecclesiastical. We would have no honorable senators, leaving their seats in the capitol to legislate in the synods, and general assemblies, and conferences, and conventions of the Church. We regard with almost equal aversion a lay-governed Church and a priest-governed State. They are both at variance with the genius of Christianity. Methodism is now immeasurably in advance of other systems. They must make rapid

progress to overtake her. We trust that she will not enter upon a course of retrogression for the sake of their company.

An attempt has been made to cause the impression that the exclusion of laymen from the highest councils of the Church rests upon a tacit imputation to them of inferiority to ministers in intelligence and piety. This is not the case. If other reasons quite sufficient cannot be given, we shall abandon the argument. Great talents and moral worth are demanded in the various departments of business and professional life. Besides, our laymen are entitled and expected to occupy posts of high honor and responsibility in civil government. We expect them to be our sheriffs, judges, senators, governors, generals; and if we have not a Methodist president of the Republic, it is not because we have not men of talents and virtue equal to the office. The ends of society would not be answered by crowding all the distinguished talent and virtue into the Christian ministry, if it were possible to do so. Is political sovereignty withheld from all females and male minors on the ground of a want of intelligence and trustworthiness? Is the naturalized foreigner, who cannot write his name, or read his naturalization papers, superior in these qualities to the great body of American students between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one? Is every brainless profligate over twenty-one years of age superior, in these respects, to the mothers, wives, and sisters of our eminent statesmen? It is not difficult to find other reasons. We conclude, not because the subject is exhausted. It is scarcely opened. But limits are assigned, and must be observed.

ART. IV.—LEIGH HUNT.

The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt, with Reminiscences of Friends and Contemporaries. Two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers.
The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt. Two volumes. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.
The Prose Works of Leigh Hunt. Four volumes. New York: Derby & Jackson.

In this country where every one, like the knight of *La Mancha*, professes to be son of his own deeds, there is much impatience with minute details of genealogy. This leads to the loss of many useful lessons. By some study of their ancestors, men may know more of themselves than by confining their observations to the small space and time in which they personally live. If they would read their own lives and characters with intelligent eye, they should col-
late the earlier editions of themselves which may be found by careful

search in unfrequented corners of the great library of humanity. Having patiently deciphered the half-obliterated pages, and become familiar with the black-letter type of those old volumes, we shall better appreciate the style of the page of life which to-day demands our notice.

Leigh Hunt had a theory that a man is but his parents or some other of his ancestors drawn out. The two extremes of mirth and melancholy which met in him were contributed to his character by his parents. With all the thoughtfulness of a biographer, who sincerely aims to aid his readers in understanding his hero, he gives us on the threshold a key to his character. Wisely and filially he devotes several pages of his autobiography to his parents, thus enabling readers to see in fountains springing in the far West those ingredients which flow in all the current of his after life.

Leigh Hunt's father was a native of the West Indies. He married a lady of Philadelphia, and settled in New York as attorney and barrister. On the breaking out of the Revolution he unwisely adhered to the cause of George III. He was treated so roughly for his toryism that he fled to England. He soon after abandoned the law, and became a preacher in the Established Church. The ingratitude of republics is proverbial, and the zealous loyalist soon found that it is not confined to one form of government, but sometimes forms a trait of royal character. Though he had suffered severely from his espousal of the royal cause, and soon became a preacher of distinguished talent, he looked in vain for preferment from the head of the Anglican Church.

Leigh Hunt was born on the 19th of October, 1784. Though a native of England, he always had the kindness to regard Americans as cousins, and had the liberality to be pleased with the popularity of his books on this side of the Atlantic. We can appreciate this liberality the more when we know that his cash account owed little enlargement to the publication and sale of his works in America.

Had Hunt been born in America, we should have had him, according to a theory of his own, without poetical genius. While he makes exceptions of certain individuals, he says: "As a nation I cannot get it out of my head that Americans are Englishmen with the poetry and romance taken out of them." He dislikes our proclivity for money-getting. He imagines a great counter built along the American coast from north to south, behind which we are all standing, like so many linen-draperies, ready to drive bargains. He has hope for us, however, not doubting that "in time this unchristian opinion will come to nought."

If his portraiture of character is correct, it was fortunate for

Hunt that he was not born in America. He would have aspired in vain for standing behind our great counter. He had no capacity for accounts; he had a horror of dates and figures, and only learned the value of money from the trouble it gave his friends to extricate him from his pecuniary embarrassments. He confessed ignorance of the multiplication-table; and when editor of the *Examiner* was ignorant of the simplest financial fact pertaining to the paper—the price of its stamp. In the two fascinating volumes of his autobiography few dates are to be found. We are led along from one occurrence to another without knowing the dates of the most important events. Our hero manifests as much reluctance to inform us of his age, as the vulgar theory attributes to ladies of uncertain years.

There is one pleasant exception to our general lack of knowledge. A portrait adorns the entrance to the volumes, in which the author wears a countenance so youthful that few would suppose him to have passed his twentieth year. To obviate misapprehensions, the engraver inscribed "*ætat 36*" below the picture.

No one in all the history of English literature could laugh at dates with a better grace than Leigh Hunt. He preserved the glow and spirit of his youth to his latest years. His heart was always young. Years passed over him, and silvered his head, and made his step infirm; but his youthful sympathies were alive and vigorous to the last. When "a gray-headed senior," his senses were alive to the pleasing sights and sounds which charmed his youth. One day, while in a music store, he fell upon some songs which he had sung in childhood. The discovery called up pleasing recollections, to which he gives utterance in agreeable style. "They were the only songs I recollect singing when a child, and I looked on them with the accumulated tenderness of sixty-three years. I do not remember to have set eyes on them in the interval. What a difference between the little smooth-faced boy at his mother's knee, encouraged to lift up his voice to the piano, and the battered, gray-headed senior, looking again for the first time on what he had sung at the distance of more than half a century!"

While his youthful temperament was a source of great beauty to his character, there was with it a shade of defect. He was once described, in no inaccurate terms, as "the spoiled child of the public." Smiled upon and flattered in very early years by the public, then treated coldly for a time, and at length looked upon again with favor, he acquired a sensitiveness to praise and blame which is a mark of youthful rather than manly character.

By going to other sources, as well as the autobiography, we pre-

sent the following paragraph of dates : Leigh Hunt was born October 19, 1784. He published a small volume of juvenile verses in 1802. In 1807 he published a series of critical articles on the London Theaters, which attracted attention from their bold tone and independent spirit. He and his brother became proprietors of the *Examiner* in 1808, which soon attracted popular attention for its literary ability, and the independence with which it advocated liberal principles in politics. So truthful were its strictures on men in high places, and the corrupt practices of government, that bitter and powerful animosity was aroused against it. In 1810 a series of prosecutions for libel was instituted against the editors, succeeded by an imprisonment of two years, which terminated on the 3d of February, 1815. Some of Leigh Hunt's best and most popular poetry was published soon after his liberation, as the fruit of his involuntary retirement from society. In 1818 Leigh Hunt established a weekly paper, entitled the *Indicator*, conducted after the manner of the *Spectator* and *Rambler*. The essays published under this title, collected and republished many times, constitute their author's most substantial claim to remembrance. In 1822 Hunt went to Italy, at the earnest solicitation of Byron and Shelley. In 1828 we find him again in England, prosecuting his literary labors with redoubled ardor. Essays, translations, compilations, and original works almost without number, fell from his fruitful pen. His death, which occurred August 29, 1859, severed one of the strongest ties which bind us to the literature and literary men of the early years of this century.

The series of malicious prosecutions of the editors of the *Examiner*, and their final conviction and imprisonment, form a thrilling and highly instructive chapter in the history of the press. The *Examiner* was a progressive newspaper, the chivalrous champion of reforms, and the avowed opponent of abuses. Its editors were young, ardent, and sincere, and sufficiently regardless of consequences to give utterance to the most unflattering truths. "The *Examiner*," says its autobiographical historian, "began its career like most papers, with thinking the worst of those from whom it differed, and expressing its mind with fearless sincerity."

Considering itself the champion of the injured, the *Examiner* espoused the cause of Major Hogan, of the British army, who, not having received promotion as rapidly as he deserved, had written a pamphlet, in which he exposed the unjust manner in which preferment was sold, and the highly dishonorable means which were employed to obtain it. The *Examiner* noticed this pamphlet, and made such editorial comments upon it as were prompted by its ardor in the

cause of reform. The facts revealed by Major Hogan warranted severe strictures on the conduct of the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, which the Examiner did not hesitate to utter. Action was brought against the editors for their temerity. The prosecution fell to the ground by the timely espousal of the cause of the Examiner by a hitherto unknown friend, who, in his capacity as member of Parliament, procured the summons of certain persons to the bar of the House of Commons, that inquiry might be made into the character and capacity of the commander-in-chief. The Duke of York was voted innocent of connivance, and yet so many unpleasant disclosures were made in course of the investigation that the prosecution against the Examiner was quietly and gladly abandoned.

Foiled in their first attempt to crush the Examiner, its enemies kept on the look-out for another ground of accusation. At length the character of the king was aspersed by the following mild remark: "Of all the monarchs since the Revolution, the successor of George III. will have the finest opportunity of becoming nobly popular."

This time the prosecutors blindly overshot the mark by bringing action against the editors of the *Morning Chronicle* for having quoted the libelous assertion. The acquittal of the Chronicle parried the blow so furiously directed against the Examiner.

The enemies of the ill-fated paper remained on the alert with a vigilance worthy of a better cause, and a third prosecution speedily followed. The Stamford News had so far broken from the wholesome restraints with which monarchists deem it proper that newspapers should be hedged about, as to publish some sensible and humane views on the subject of flogging in the army. The editorial scissors which made extracts for the Examiner were so little guided by wisdom as to clip the unscrupulous article for the benefit of its readers. The editors were summoned before the bar of justice to answer for a high misdemeanor. It is painful evidence that the scales of justice are not always held with a steady hand; that while the Examiner was acquitted, through the eloquent and valiant advocacy of its cause by Mr. Brougham, the editor of the Stamford News, with the same able advocate, was subsequently condemned on a prosecution for publishing the same article.*

° It would seem from the following account, published as news in a late issue of the London Times, that barbarity yet characterizes the treatment of soldiers in the British army. Two men, whose home feelings had overcome them, were thus flogged for temporary desertion before disbandment:

"The first man, named Green, bore his punishment, as stated by an eye-witness, 'like a true soldier;' but the second, named Davis, a young recruit, protested his innocence of the crime of desertion, bellowed and screamed for mercy, and sup-

At last the climax was reached in a fourth prosecution, and the hopes of implacable enemies realized in the condemnation of the unscrupulous editors. George III. lived to such an old age that his son long figured as Prince of Wales, and occupied a conspicuous position before the eyes of the nation long before he was crowned king. When the old king became insane, his son was made virtual monarch under the title of Prince Regent. During his more private life as Prince of Wales, he had professed certain political opinions which rendered him very popular, and excited the hopes of all progressives. Especially the ardent and ill-treated Irish almost worshipped the Prince of Wales for certain promises, which made them suppose that he would be another Moses to deliver them from bondage. At their annual dinners on St. Patrick's day the name of the Prince of Wales was made the subject of the most rapturous toasts, and heard with most uproarious applause.

When the Prince became Regent he was utterly regardless of his promises, and, to the astonishment and dismay of all sincere and hopeful men, made a total abandonment of the principles he had professed so loudly.

St. Patrick's day of 1812 was celebrated at Free Masons' Tavern by a large and respectable company of Irishmen, presided over by a distinguished nobleman. The name of the Prince of Wales on this occasion, instead of being heard with applause, was hooted and hissed. Those who had been most eloquent in praise were now loudest in rebuke. Never has name and character had a greater tide of unpopularity to meet.

The Examiner, as a sympathizing paper, and a faithful chronicler of passing events, reported the proceedings of this meeting, with such editorial remarks as were calculated to make manifest the popular odium against the Prince Regent. Besides, in the same connection, were noticed some wretched lines which had been published in a prominent paper for the purpose of flattering the reigning prince, in which he was styled "Adonis in loveliness." The brief and luminous com-

plicated Col. Talbott, and the medical officers, and others who were present, to have compassion on him or he would die. His back was covered with a mass of large, red, inflated boils, which bled profusely at every stroke, and reddened the ground under his feet, upon which the cat was ordered to be withheld for a few moments, when, finding that his punishment was not at an end, he gave vent to exclamations for mercy, and partly succeeded in delivering himself by force from the straps which bound him to the halberds. The punishment was again ordered to be continued, when, at every succeeding stroke, his cries and exclamations were most lamentable, insomuch that officers and men swooned away at the sickening spectacle, and had to be carried into the open air. One officer and upward of twenty non-commissioned officers and men, long in the service, fainted, and others stopped their ears and closed their eyes lest they too should become unnerved, and be subject to the reproach and ridicule of their comrades."

ment on this passage was: "This Adonis is a corpulent man of fifty." This was the unkindest cut of all, and gave the sword of justice the unerring precision and execution with which it shortly fell.

Leigh Hunt, the editor, and his brother, principal proprietor of the *Examiner*, were prosecuted for publishing the article. They were found guilty, and condemned to imprisonment and payment of a fine of one thousand pounds. One of the criminals briefly describes the way he was affected by the sentence:

"At the sound of two years' imprisonment, in separate jails, my brother and myself instinctively pressed each other's arms. It was a heavy blow, but the pressure that acknowledged it encouraged the resolution to bear it, and I do not believe that either of us interchanged a word afterward on the subject."

Two years' imprisonment must have been an unpleasant prospect to a man subject to attacks of nervousness which exercise alone could mitigate. However, he made the best of his situation, and bore its evils like a martyr. Permission was granted the prisoner to have his wife and children with him, whereby he made a great step toward transforming his prison into a home. He thus describes the tasteful arts by which prisons may be made attractive:

"I papered the walls with a trellis of roses; I had the ceiling colored with clouds and sky; the barred windows I screened with venetian blinds; and when my book-cases were set up with their busts, and flowers and a piano-forte made their appearance, perhaps there was not a handsomer room on that side of the water. I took pleasure when a stranger knocked at the door, to see him come in and stare about him. The surprise on issuing from the Borough and passing through the avenues of a jail was dramatic. Charles Lamb declared that there was no other such room except in a fairy tale."

Going to jail and indulging a taste for horticulture would seem quite incongruous, yet Hunt caused even these extremes to meet.

"I possessed another surprise, which was a garden. There was a little yard outside the room, railed off from another, belonging to the neighboring ward. This yard I shut in with green palings, adorned it with a trellis, bordered it with a thick bed of earth from a nursery, and even contrived to have a grass-plot. The earth I filled with flowers and young trees. There was an apple-tree from which we managed to get a pudding the second year. As to my flowers, they were allowed to be perfect. Thomas Moore, who came to see me with Lord Byron, told me he had seen no such heart's-ease. Here I wrote and read in fine weather, sometimes under an awning. In autumn my trellises were covered with scarlet runners, which added to the flowery investment. I used to shut my eyes in my arm chair, and affect to think myself hundreds of miles off."

Leigh Hunt was beguiled of the solitude of his prison by the frequent visits of friends old and new. Among these were Lord Byron, Talfourd, Lamb, Hazlitt, Moore, and Shelley, his "friend of

tensive fame. Fancy, rather than imagination, was an attribute of his mind. He delighted in the melody of rhymes, and was never at a loss for similar syllables with which to couple any word, however unusual. In his playful poems he abounds in doggerel rhymes, such as "Hebe," "she be;" "mayn't I," "quaint eye;" "ladies," "trade is;" "robber on," "Oberon." That Leigh Hunt had a talent for rhyming will be appreciated by the reader when he is informed that he and a friend once amused themselves, while on a walk, by making one hundred and fifty rhymes with the word "philosopher."

Hunt's powers of invention were limited. No original characters figure in any of his plays or poems. They are generally furnished full grown to his hand, and all he does is to array them in different robes and place them in new attitudes. He has no birthright in the period which he describes as

"Two centuries ago,
When Shakspeare *drew men*, and to write was to know."

In the composition of his poems he made laborious consultations of books. The "Story of Rimini," his longest and most admired poem, was not composed without careful attention given to many old volumes, as the following paragraph indicates:

"Lord Byron called on me in prison several times. He used to bring me books for the *Story of Rimini*, which I was then writing. He would not let the footman bring them in. He would enter with a couple of quartos under his arm, and give you to understand that he was prouder of being a friend and a man of letters than a lord."

Leigh Hunt was a painter in poetry. He was an artist, not of the bold and original style of the great historical painters, but more after the Flemish School. He delighted in minute and careful finish. He applied his delicate colors with a skillful hand. By means of a few dainty touches of his pencil, the more pleasing parts of a landscape stand clearly before you.

A "poetic nook" is thus described:

"Just hid with trees, and sparkling with a brook,
When through the quivering boughs the sunbeams shoot
Their arrowy diamonds upon flower and fruit,
While stealing airs come whispering o'er the stream
And lull the fancy to a waking dream."

The prominent features of an Italian landscape are carefully sketched in the following lines:

"For leafy was the road, with tall array
On either side of mulberry and bay,
And distant snatches of blue hills between;
And there the alder was with its bright green,

And the broad chestnut, and the poplar's shoot,
That like a feather waves from head to foot,
With ever and anon majestic pines;
And still from tree to tree the early vines
Hung, garlanding the way in amber lines."

Cattle standing lazily in the shallow water, or reclining in the shade, are regarded as almost essential to a summer landscape. Thus does the poet supply this feature of a picture he is painting:

"Or a few cattle looking up askance
With remnant meek mouths and sleepy glance."

Not only in landscapes, but in portraits, does our poet try his hand. He thus paints a shadow upon a feature of a fierce countenance:

"His brows were shadowed with a stormy fire."

The following is an approach toward a "speaking likeness:"

"And under his grim gaze the life-long words were said."

The words, "dim eyes sliding into rest," depict the expression of a dying man in a manner which the lights and shadows of the pencil cannot surpass. There is bold figure in the following lines:

"A ghastly castle that eternally
Holds its blind visage out to the lone sea."

Here is milder and more pleasing metaphor:

"A land of trees which, reaching round about
In shady blessings, stretched their old arms out."

In describing the roar of cannon, he mingles the perceptions of different senses in a curious manner:

"On the face of nations round
Fell the shadow of that sound."

Of Hunt's poems, some of his shorter pieces will hold the world's attention the longest. One of the finest sonnets in the language is that on the *Nile*, commencing:

"It flows through old hushed Egypt and its sands,
Like some grave, mighty thought threading a dream."

Those who know nothing about anything else that Hunt has written, remember him as the author of the beautiful vision of *Abou Ben Adem*. Though well known, it should never be omitted from any presentation of Leigh Hunt's poetical achievements:

"Abou Ben Adem (may his tribe increase!)
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich, and like a lily in bloom,

An angel writing in a book of gold.
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adem bold,
And to the presence in the room he said:
'What writest thou?' The vision raised its head,
And with a look made of all sweet accord,
Answered: 'The names of those who love the Lord.'
'And is mine one?' said Abou. 'Nay, not so,'
Replied the angel. Abou spoke more low,
But churly still, and said: 'I pray thee, then,
Write me as one that loves his fellow-men.'
The angel wrote and vanished. The next night
It came again, with a great wakening light,
And showed the names whom love of God had bless'd,
And lo! Ben Adem's name led all the rest."

Leigh Hunt had a kind of Homeric proclivity for words curiously compounded. The cry of the wounded for water on the field of battle is called a "wound-voice." A man disabled on the field is "many wounded." Blind Milton is called "blank-eyed." Such a use of words might have been natural enough to one who wrote in Greek, but, regarded as an Englishman's use of his mother tongue, it seems quite artificial.

Few popular poets have owed less to nature, or more to art, than Leigh Hunt. He presents the curious spectacle of a poet most unnatural in his early life, growing more into fellowship with nature as he advanced in years.

The element of originality is wanting in much that he wrote. Many of his pieces are simply recasts of passages in old authors or Italian poets. He had a fine ear for the harmony of numbers. Though he might take some vigor from an old poem which he recast, he never marred its music. He delighted in the sweets of literature, and was assiduous in collecting them. If, like the bee, he had a delicate taste for "honeyed sweets," he was likewise armed with a sting, of which brother authors, as well as princes and Tories, sometimes felt the wound. In the former part of his career he presents the strange spectacle of a man of affectionate disposition and quiet tastes engaged in political controversy and literary warfare.

He cared little for dramatic literature, and seldom read plays; yet he had an ambition to shine as a writer for the stage. He was impatient with stage managers, because they did not bring forward his plays so promptly as their merits deserved; yet he never committed Fielding's indiscretion of organizing a private company to perform his plays. Notwithstanding his own distaste for the drama, and the slowness of managers to appreciate his merits, one of his most popular and most remunerative productions was a play, entitled, *A Legend of Florence*, which, after having had a run at the theater, was performed before the Queen at Windsor Castle.

Leigh Hunt's chief delight in literature was in the composition of his poetry. He loved to turn aside from the prose of his severer literary labors into the flowery paths of poesy. Yet the former was his directer route to fame. His essays, many of which were published under the common title of *The Indicator*, are unsurpassed by anything which has appeared in the same department since Addison's *Spectator*. These have a correct and beautiful style, and are pervaded by a quaint and genial humor. Here the author's ready utterance and sprightly fancy are talents called into continual requisition. His subjects are frequently trivial, and are by no means the topics on which you are likely to consult the encyclopedia; yet, on dipping into articles with so unpromising titles as *Sticks*, *Hats*, or *Pig-driving*, you find a combination of fascinating narrative, quaint description, playful allusions, and apt quotations which greatly delight you. "A determined personality" pervades his essays. He did not fall in with the modern fashion of writers, and sink his own identity in that of the paper for which he wrote. He stood always before his readers as the man as well as the author. No writer ever had more intimate relation and sympathy with his readers than Leigh Hunt. The following extracts from his essay entitled, "My Books," will show on what terms of easy familiarity he stood with the public :

"Sitting last winter among my books, and walled round with all the comfort and protection which they and my fireside could afford me; to wit, a table of high-piled books at my back, my writing-desk on one side of me, some shelves on the other, and the feeling of the warm fire at my feet, I began to consider how I loved the authors of those books; how I loved them, too, not only for the imaginative pleasures they afford me, but for their making me love the very books themselves, and delight to be in contact with them. I looked sideways at my *Spenser*, my *Theocritus*, and my *Arabian Nights*; then above them at my Italian poets; then behind me at my *Dryden* and *Pope*, my romances, and my *Boccaccio*; then on my left side at my *Chaucer*, who lay on a writing-desk; and thought how natural it was in C. L. to give a kiss to an old folio, as I once saw him do to *Chapman's Homer*. . . . While writing this article I am in my study again. Like the rooms in all houses in this country (Italy) which are not hovels, it is handsome and ornamented. On one side it looks toward a garden and the mountains; on another to the mountains and the sea. What signifies all this? I turn my back upon the sea; I shut up even one of the side windows looking upon the mountains, and retain no prospect but that of the trees. On the right and left of me are bookshelves; a book-case is affectionately open in front of me; and thus kindly inclosed with my books and the green leaves I write. If this is too luxurious and effeminate, of all luxuries it is the one that leaves you the most strength."

Of book-borrowing he speaks in the same essay :

"I own I borrow books with as much facility as I lend. I cannot see a work that interests me on another person's shelf without a wish to carry it off; but I repeat that I have been much more sinned against than sinning in the article of non-return, and am scrupulous in the article of intention. I never had a felonious intent upon a book but once; and then, I shall only say, it was under

circumstances so peculiar that I cannot but look upon the conscience that induced me to restore it as having sacrificed the spirit of its very self to the letter, and I have a grudge against it accordingly. Some people are unwilling to lend their books. I have a special grudge against them, particularly those who accompany their unwillingness with uneasy professions to the contrary, and smiles like Sir Fretful Plagiary. The friend who helped to spoil my notions of property, or rather to make them too good for the world 'as it goes,' taught me also to undervalue my squeamishness in refusing to avail myself of the books of these gentlemen. He showed me how it was doing good to all parties to put an ordinary face on the matter; though I knew his own blushed not a little sometimes in doing it, even when the good to be done was for another. I feel, in truth, that even when anger inclines me to exercise this privilege of philosophy, it is more out of revenge than contempt. I fear that in allowing myself to borrow books, I sometimes make extremes meet in a very sinful manner, and do it out of a refined revenge. It is like eating a miser's beef at him."

Hunt's nice observation of the ways of men appears in almost everything he wrote. It is manifested in a very pleasing way in his good-natured description of *The Old Gentleman*:

"He is very clean and neat; and in warm weather is proud of opening his waistcoat half-way down and letting so much of his frill be seen, in order to show his hardness as well as taste. His watch and shirt-buttons are of the best, and he does not care if he has two rings on a finger. If his watch ever failed him at the club or coffee-house, he would take a walk every day to the nearest clock of good character, purely to keep it right. He has a cane at home, but seldom uses it, on finding it out of fashion with his elderly juniors. The old gentleman is very particular in having his slippers ready for him at the fire when he comes home. He is also extremely choice in his snuff, and delights to get a fresh boxfull in Tavistock-street, in his way to the theater. His box is a curiosity from India. He calls favorite young ladies by their Christian names, however slightly acquainted with them. He grows young again in his little grandchildren, especially the one which he thinks most like himself, which is the handsomest. He asks little boys in general who was the father of Zebedee's children. He is much struck when an old acquaintance dies, but adds that he lived too fast; and that poor Bob was a sad dog in his youth, 'a very sad dog, sir; mightily set upon a short life and a merry one.'"

Leigh Hunt's periods are addressed more to the fancy than to the understanding, and aim rather to please than to instruct. This design is apparent in all he wrote. He greatly dreaded the displeasure of the public. His sensitiveness to the opinions of others was an amiable weakness in his character. There is a passage in his autobiography which sets forth this trait in a light both ludicrous and beautiful. He is acknowledging gratefully some large and liberal pecuniary aid, which he received at a time when unable to relieve himself. He wonders whether he ought to blush for stating his obligation so publicly. He expresses his readiness to do so if it were thought fit he should, being loth not to do what is expected of him, "even by a respectable prejudice, when it is on the side of delicacy and self-respect."

There are different tastes as to how a tale or drama ought to end;

some preferring a bloody murder and others a happy marriage at the winding up. Our author wrote two endings for more than one of his longer pieces; one to gratify those whose fondness is for intense tragedy, and another for those who are miserable unless all the characters "marry and live happily ever afterward."

Notwithstanding his accommodating spirit, Leigh Hunt never shrunk from the advocacy of his opinions, however unpopular at the time. He was very persistent in his own literary ways and habits. Critics abused him for what they regarded as affectations and faults, but he never turned aside a hair's-breadth to follow their unfriendly advice. So faithfully did he adhere to his peculiarities, that they were at length regarded as elements of his genius. When Blackwood's Magazine leveled its keenest shafts at him and his friends, he never lost his equanimity nor abandoned his position. At last when missiles ceased to fall around him, his possession of the field was proof of victory, and his name began to be held in honor. A man with persistent boldness, in whatever cause, at length wins a kind of admiration from beholders. Many a character in literature, like one of Hunt's own heroes, has

... "Made 'twixt daring and defect
A sort of fierce demand on your respect."

Some of Leigh Hunt's productions fell almost lifeless from the press, which afterward became very popular. Supposing that there was more in his works than the world perceived, he patiently prosecuted his literary career until at length he saw the tide turn in his favor. The public reread his books and found that there was more in them than they at first discovered. They remind us of the treacherous brother as affected toward the bride in the *Story of Rimini*. They look with interest upon

"E'en what before had seemed indifference,
And read them over in another sense."

Hunt's connection with politics often threw a cloud over his literary prospects and partially delayed the dawning of the day of his popularity. During many of the years in which he was struggling up to eminence tory critics lorded it over literature, and by their railing accusations and partisan abuse deterred the public from that admiration of his writings which would otherwise have risen spontaneously to greet him. So much unjust odium did the critics contrive to cast upon him, that he published his *Sir Ralph Esher*, a fictitious autobiography of the time of Charles II., anonymously, as the publisher would not permit his name to accompany the book lest it should injure the sales! Hunt was happy in being permitted to live until his name was held in better estimation.

The old hostility between himself and government was many years ago succeeded by a perfect reconciliation. He had the happiness of seeing many of the reforms which he had so ardently advocated in his youth quietly prevailing in his later years. He saw as much to admire in his queen as he had seen to detest in some of her remote relatives. Several of his beautiful poems are laden with compliments for her whom he calls

"The rose,
On whose stem our safety grows."

For the last ten years of his life the good-will of government was manifested toward him in the bestowment of a pension of two hundred pounds per annum.

Leigh Hunt died in August last, a loved and honored old man. For many years his house was a place of pilgrimage to friends and admirers from his own and other lands. A multitude of writers had grown up without the prejudices and animosities of some of their predecessors. These gathered affectionately and reverently around the genial patriarch of literature, and for many years scarcely a word has been written to his injury. He was eminently the friend of poets. Had he written nothing himself his name would long live enshrined in the writings of his brother poets. Keats wrote a beautiful poem in commemoration of the day of Hunt's release from prison. The last poem Shelley ever wrote was one welcoming his friend to Italy. It was a fitting and coincident return that the last words Leigh Hunt wrote for the public were to vindicate his friend from what he regarded as a misapprehension.

ART. V.—WESLEY AS A MAN OF LITERATURE.

[THIRD ARTICLE.]

VII. Our next department of review presents Mr. Wesley's character as a commentator.

The New Testament text of Mr. Wesley does not keep his name in remembrance or support his fame, but the Notes, the short, pithy, spirited, practical notes on the text. As a commentator or annotator he is not altogether original, acknowledging that he is indebted to Dr. Heylin, Dr. Guise, and Dr. Doddridge; but mostly to the learned German divine, Bengel or Bengelius, who became prelate of Wurtemberg, and died two years before the issue of the Explanatory Notes. The notes on the Revelation are chiefly from Bengel.

With the notes another advantage is given, namely, an analysis of each book, showing clearly the method and contents of the writing of the inspired authors. The Notes are not only intrinsically useful, and sufficient for their own preservation from generation to generation, but they are useful to the Methodist connection as a standard of doctrine. No man has a right to preach in a Methodist church unless he "preach no other doctrine than is contained in Mr. Wesley's Notes upon the New Testament." (*Larger Minutes.*) The Notes, then, are destined to live so long as the Methodist organizations continue, perhaps to the end of the world.

He did not confine his attention to the New Testament, but began to collect and arrange matter for "Explanatory Notes on the Old Testament," which work was published in three quarto volumes ten years after. The preface says that he had no wish to undertake such a work, but importunity prevailed over him; and yet it seemed incredible to himself that he should be "entering upon a work of this kind when," says he, "I am entering into the sixty-third year of my age." Yet the new commentary was mostly made up of old ones. He set about shortening Mr. Henry's large commentary of six folios, making it plainer to common readers, cheaper to poor ones, more conformable to the doctrine of universal redemption, and fuller in various important places. After he had gone through Genesis he began to use Mr. Pool's "Annotations on the Bible," and as freely, or more so, than Henry's work. His desire and aim was "to give the direct literal meaning of every verse, of every sentence, and, as far as I am able, of every word, in the oracles of God." A most excellent design for a commentator! But commentators are very fond of giving profuse explanation and remark on plain passages, and passing over, with little or no observation, the dark and intricate texts. The Old Testament notes seem never to have attained a great circulation. Had the work been in one quarto volume instead of three, the circulation would doubtless have been much greater. But a mere compilation from other authors was never likely to be very popular, even with a respectable name and useful alterations. I do not find that the work ever went into a second edition. At the present the commentary is seldom seen, and is regarded mostly as a curiosity. A copy was lately presented to the Wesleyan College, in Coburg, Canada, by a gentleman of Montreal.

VIII. We pass by the commentator and view him next in the very different path of a POLITICAL WRITER. Private and secluded men often feel deeply interested in public affairs, but public men

generally much more so. The two Wesleys were men of this sort, deeply interested not only in the moral and religious, but in the civil and political state of the English nation. In the war with France and Spain, involving a European war, from 1742 to 1748, England was in a very unsettled state, and great fears were entertained that the Pretender would supplant George II. on the English throne. Both Wesleys used all their influence for the reigning, the Protestant prince. Charles wrote hymns for these "times of trouble." The energetic and loyal hymns beginning:

"Sovereign of all, whose will ordains,"
 "Lord, thou hast bid thy people pray,"

and also,

"Sinners, the call obey,"

were prompted by these times, and exhibit the feelings of the poet and the state of the nation.

Among the remaining writings of Mr. Wesley are some tracts on political economy and public affairs. His "Free Thoughts on the Present State of Public Affairs, in a Letter to a Friend," were written in 1768, and profess to answer the question, "What do you think is the direct and principal cause of the present public commotions, of the amazing ferment among the people, the general discontent of the nation?" Is the king the cause? In reply he ingeniously defends George III. as a wise and good prince, "whose whole conduct, both in public and private, ever since he began his reign, has been worthy of an Englishman, worthy of a Christian, and worthy of a king." Was the ministry the cause? Two troublesome questions were before the government, namely, the taxation of the American colonies and the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes from the House of Commons. Still he did not consider the present ministry any worse than others. Is the Parliament the cause? No. What then? He believed French gold was the principal cause, in feeing Wilkes, feeing writers of addresses, petitions, remonstrances, pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers. Other causes were covetousness, hungering after lucre and lucrative employments, ambition after honor and honorable positions, pride and envy, and resentment through disappointment and preferences. Another of the subordinate causes was the popular letters of Junius, increasing the discontent and complaining of the people. The "Free Thoughts" were penned in a very disinterested manner, and doubtless were useful to all readers but intemperate partisans.

About the same time, and when the ferment of the nation was up from the Letters of Junius and the successful election of Wilkes, he wrote and published his "Thoughts upon Liberty." The popu-

lar cry was for liberty! liberty! "And who can deny," says the writer, "but the whole kingdom is panting for liberty?"

"Is it not for the sake of this that the name of our great patriot is more celebrated than that of any private man has been in England for these thousand years; that his very picture is so joyfully received in every part of England and Ireland; that we stamp his (I had almost said adored) name on our handkerchiefs, on the cheerful bowl, yea, and on our vessels of various kinds, as well as upon our hearts? Why is all this but because of the inseparable connection between Wilkes and liberty; liberty that came down, if not fell, from heaven, whom all England and the world worshipeth?"

In this piece of quiet irony is seen the wonderful popularity of the cause of Wilkes, the "great patriot!" with a popularity not to be equaled "for these thousand years!" But, calmly asks the writer, "might it not be advisable to consider, What is liberty?" Do the patriots mean the liberty of savages, to kill all they are displeased with? The liberty of the old and free natives of Scotland and Ireland, to make excursions and take away the cattle and property of their neighbors? The liberty of the soldiery to take the wives and daughters of the foe in time of war? The liberty of calling a disobedient king to account, as King John and Charles I.? No. Is it religious liberty to choose our own religion? "In the name of wonder, what religious liberty can you desire, or even conceive, which you have not already?" [The Dissenters might have answered that they had religious liberty, but not religious equality.] "Is it civil liberty? a liberty to enjoy our lives and fortunes in our own way; to use our property, which is legally our own, according to our own choice? We have it. What then is the matter? What is it you are making all this pother about?" He accounts for the outcry to the infatuation of the people caused by erring and wicked men, as Wilkes and the writer Junius. He advises a "leasing-making" law, to punish "such willful lies as tended to breed dissension between the king and his subjects."

Another of his political tracts was "On the Origin of Power." He means "supreme power, the power over life and death, liberty and property, and all things of an inferior nature." In the treatise he combats the popular theory that the supreme power is from the people.

In the winter of 1773 there was a great want of food in England, so that thousands of the people were starving in every part of the nation. "The fact I know," says Mr. Wesley; "I have seen it with my eyes in every corner of the land. He published a tract on the subject, entitled, "On the Present Scarcity of Provisions."

In 1774 he published "Thoughts upon Slavery." The slave-trade was now going on prosperously; a large part of the English commercial navy was in the trade; and a hundred thousand

negroes, at least, were yearly carried from the coast of Africa, and poured into the American colonies. The writer did not design this tract for the public, nor for the Parliament, as a hopeless object; but to operate on the minds of captains and seamen, the slave merchants of England, and the American planters. He gives them, 1. A short history of the African slave-trade. 2. A description of the fine country and the simple manners of the negroes. 3. An account of the manner in which the negroes are procured, carried to, and treated in the colonies. 4. A challenge for a defense of the trade; and denies that, on the principles of honesty, justice, and mercy, any excuse or justification can be offered. Next he applies the observations to seamen, merchants, and planters. He regards the latter as the worst of the three:

"Now it is your money that pays the merchant, and through him the captain and the African butchers. You therefore are guilty, principally guilty of all these frauds, robberies, and murders. You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion; they would not stir a step without you; therefore the blood of all these wretches who die before their time, whether in their own country or elsewhere, lies upon your head. The blood of thy brother (for whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of Him that made him) crieth against thee from the earth, from the ship, and from the waters. O whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late; instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood-guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands are at present stained with blood! Surely it is enough: accumulate no more guilt; spill no more the blood of the innocent."

But the planter replies, "I do not buy any negroes. I only use those left me by my father." He answers:

"So far is well; but is it enough to satisfy your own conscience? Had your father, have you, has any man living, a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting revelation aside. It cannot be that either war or contract can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen. Much less is it possible that any child of man should ever be born a slave. Liberty is the right of every human creature as soon as he breathes the vital air, and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature."

Thus did this benevolent man lift up his voice to man for the oppressed, and thus he pleaded with Heaven:

"O thou God of love, thou who art loving to every man, and whose mercy is over all thy works; thou who art the Father of the spirits of all flesh, and who art rich in mercy unto all; thou who hast mingled of one blood all the nations upon earth, have compassion upon these outcasts of men, who are trodden down as dung upon the earth! Arise and help these that have no helper, whose blood is spilt upon the earth like water! Are not these also the work of thine own hands, the purchase of thy Son's blood! Stir them up to cry unto thee, even in the land of their captivity; and let their complaint come up before thee; let it enter into thy ears! Make even those that lead them away captive to pity them, and turn their captivity as the rivers in the south. O burst thou all their chains in sunder; more especially the chains of their sins! Thou Saviour of all, make them free that they may be free indeed!"

It is not probable that his pleadings with the planters had much effect, as the controversy with the mother country had now commenced, and next year the war of the American Revolution began. In that year he published his "Calm Address to our American Colonies," in which he goes into the question then debated on both sides of the Atlantic, namely, Has the English Parliament a right to tax the American Colonies? He said, Yes. In reply to the objection, there should be "no taxation without representation," he said that thousands in England were taxed and not represented, namely, women, minors, and non-freeholders. The inference was that as Parliament had a right to tax the unrepresented subjects in one place, so in another. Conceding the right, was it expedient? He does not touch the expediency of the case. The address was shipped for the colonies, but the ports were shut, and therefore it had no effect one way or the other.

But in 1776, he published another pamphlet on the same subject, calling it, "Some Observations on Liberty, occasioned by a late tract." The tract was Dr. Price's defense of the revolution going on. The argument of the reply was, that the colonists had always enjoyed liberty, and therefore could not be fighting for it; and that liberty could exist without independence.

The same year he issued another pamphlet on the subject, called "A Seasonable Address to the more serious part of the Inhabitants of Great Britain, respecting the unhappy Contest between us and our American Brethren; with an occasional word interspersed to those of a different complexion." He recommends the "serious" to do as if a neighbor's house were on fire, namely, not to add to the flames, but try to extinguish them. On those of another "complexion," he urges reformation and piety. He regarded the war as a divine punishment on the nation for sin, especially for blood shed in the wars of India by the East India Company, and in the trade of African negroes by the nation in general. God punished the nation and the colonies by withdrawing providential restraints, and suffering evil and foolish counsels to prevail in the government and among the people.

In 1777 he published "A Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England." He mentions that the address to the colonies could not be read by them, on account of the ports being shut; yet tens of thousands of copies had been scattered at home. "The effect," says he, "exceeded my most sanguine hopes." Another view was taken of the Revolution by multitudes, who saw that the Parliament had the right of taxing the colonists, and in consequence, less dissatisfaction was felt toward the government. His present

address was to quell the remains of the tumult at home, and to exhort all to "fear God and honor the king."

In 1778 he issued "A Serious Address to the People of England with regard to the State of the Nation." The American war continuing, involving war with France, the nation was in frequent alarm. The cry now was, that the nation was on the very brink of ruin! To allay the alarm, he boldly declared that, in view of the existing plenty, and the prosperous agriculture, manufactures, trade, etc., instead of alarm there was cause only for congratulation.

Soon after the publication of the address he set out for Ireland, and found the panic in London, Bristol, and several of the counties had spread to the neighboring kingdom. "The people were terrifying themselves and their neighbors just as they did in London." General Washington, they said, had an army of sixty-five thousand troops; the French fleet and army were to be added to them; Spain was going into the war, and so was Portugal; and France was about to invade the British Isles. "What can follow but ruin and destruction?" He tries to calm the Irish people by issuing "A Compassionate Address to the Inhabitants of Ireland," dated Limerick, May 10, 1778. He calls the "inhabitants of Ireland" "my dear brethren." He assures them that General Washington had not more probably than five thousand, while General Howe had eighteen thousand, and "plenty of all things." As for France, Spain, and Portugal, the British are "well able to deal with them." As for internal enemies, (the White Boys,) says he, "Blessed be God, there is still within the kingdom some thousands of regular troops of horse as well as foot, ready to march whenever they shall be wanted." "But is there not another ground of fear? have not England and Ireland filled up the measure of their iniquities?" He allows

"The rich, the poor, the high, the low,
Have wandered from His mild command;
The floods of wickedness o'erflow,
And deluge all the guilty land;
People and priest be drowned in sin,
And Tophet yawns to take them in."

But yet he denies that the nation's measure of iniquities is filled up; because, first, the blood of good men was not shed; secondly, of the many righteous in the nation, who also prayed to God for the land; and thirdly, God was reviving his work, and religion was increasing among the people.

In 1762 he answered the inquiry, "How far is it the duty of a Christian minister to preach politics?" He considered that ministers should speak well of the lawful authorities at all times, and on

particular occasions should "confute unjust censures." In the same year he printed "An Estimate of the Manners of the Present Times," and considered that not sloth and luxury are the characteristics of the English nation, but ungodliness. "Ungodliness is our universal, constant, and peculiar character," that is, total ignorance and contempt of God. In 1785 he wrote a letter to the Gentleman's Magazine concerning his eldest brother, who was declared to be a Jacobite. "No," says Mr. Wesley, "he was a Tory; so was my father; so am I." What did he mean by a Tory? He says a Tory is "one that believes God, not the people, to be the origin of power." A singular definition, and so comprehensive as to include many who abhor the name.

These are the writings on public and civil affairs remaining, showing our founder to be a lover of his country as well as a lover of God.

IX. We have next to review his career as a CONTROVERSIAL WRITER in most of the religious disputes of his day. Great divines, ancient and modern, have usually distinguished themselves, not so much by calm expositions of the various parts of the body of divinity, as by the defense of particular articles of the Christian creed. So Mr. Wesley, in the course of his long life, often drew the sword of controversy—and in the predestinarian warfare even threw away the scabbard—and rebuked "sharply" (not with sharpness of temper, but of logic) many disputants who were not "sound in the faith." As a controversialist he was very useful, earned himself great fame, and may now be set up as a model in the use of logic and the disuse of temper. Like all other great polemics, however, he created a host of enemies, (especially among the predestinarians,) who were thoroughly beaten in the battle, but would not acknowledge the defeat.

1. The first and last and principal controversy in which he was engaged was the "quinquarticular" or *predestinarian*. The unfortunate secession of Mr. Whitefield from the Arminian to the Calvinistic tenets was the rise of the controversy, which lasted, with occasional lulls, all the life of Mr. Wesley. The sword was first drawn in 1740, by preaching his still celebrated sermon of "Free Grace" in Bristol, and afterward printing it. The text is: "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all," etc. He says, "I abhor the doctrine of predestination;" and the sermon fully justifies the declaration. He was sorry to "oppose the sentiments of those whom he esteemed," but the "strongest conviction" of duty compelled. Charles Wesley added a hymn on the same subject to the sermon. Mr. Whitefield replied; and here ended the first stage of the controversy of fifty years.

The next publication of Mr. Wesley, finding the Calvinistic tenets spreading, was called "Predestination calmly considered." He argues chiefly with the "half and half" predestinarians, who assert the decree of election, and not the decree of reprobation. He shows that one decree cannot exist without the other; also, that the principal authorities of the predestination school never minced reprobation, but asserted boldly a foreordination to everlasting damnation. The treatise shows, as the title professes, predestination calmly (and carefully) considered; only, when the reprobate millions are thought of, pity infringes on the equanimity. Does the reprobate suppose Christ loved and died for him?

"Loved thee, thou reprobate! gave himself for thee! Away! thou hast neither part nor lot herein. Thou believe in Christ, thou accursed spirit! damned or ever thou wert born!"

"God giveth thee of this world's goods on purpose to enhance thy damnation. He giveth thee now substance or friends, in order hereafter to heap the more coals of fire upon thy head. He filleth thee with food, he maketh thee fat and well-liking, to make thee a more specious sacrifice to his vengeance. Good-nature, generosity, a good understanding, various knowledge, it may be, or eloquence, are the flowers wherewith he adorneth thee, thou poor victim, before thou art brought to the slaughter. Thou hast grace, too! but what grace? Not saving grace. That is not for thee, but for the elect only. Thine may properly be termed damning grace; since it is not only such in the event, but in the intention. Thou receivedst it of God for that very end, that thou mightest receive the greater damnation. It was given, not to convert thee, but only to convince; not to make thee without sin, but without excuse; not to destroy, but to arm the worm that never dieth, and to blow up the fire that never shall be quenched."

In this extract the use of irony is very appropriate and effective. A "Dialogue between a Predestinarian and his Friend" followed, in which the predestinarian sets forth election, reprobation, and the consequences, in the words of the standard Calvinistic authors. In respect to these quotations, the tract is still useful for a reference. Calvin's celebrated expression, "I confess it [reprobation] is a horrible decree," is herein quoted.

Antinomianism is often a consequence of the belief in predestination, especially in the new converts to the system. A number in the Wesleyan societies had been proselyted to the Calvinistic denomination and creed. "And one only have I known among them all," says Mr. Wesley, "after the closest and most impartial observation, who did not evidently show, within one year, that his heart was changed, not for the better, but for the worse." So he wrote a "Dialogue between an Antinomian and his Friend." In 1765 he wrote a "Second Dialogue," having the appropriate motto, "Do we make void the law through faith? God forbid; yea, we establish the law." The antinomian is made to speak his opinions in the

words of the recognized authorities of the system. The leaders of the antinomian party at that time were William Cudworth and James Rely, who separated from Mr. Whitefield. "These were properly antinomians; absolute avowed enemies of the law of God, which they never preached or professed to preach, but termed all legalists who did. With them, preaching the law was an abomination." (*History of Methodism.*)

The next tract on the subject was "Serious Thoughts on the Perseverance of the Saints." Eight portions of Scripture are quoted, and eight strong propositions are deduced from them, against the unconditional and final perseverance of Christians, and to show that they may fall and finally perish. The tract also rebuts false interpretations, wrong conclusions, and various objections. Like the other treatises on the Calvinistic controversy, it is clear, concise, to the point, earnest, and effective. Singular is the tenacity in which the predestinarians hold fast to the point of final perseverance. St. Paul declares that one may be destroyed or lost "for whom Christ died." (Rom. xiv, 15.) No, say the predestinarians, none can be lost for whom Christ died. No, says the commentator, Mr. Scott; "the apostles did not write in that exact systematical style which some affect, or they would scrupulously have avoided such expressions," namely, as that any could be destroyed for whom Christ died. The commentator forgot that his author wrote not for a system but from inspiration of God.

The Rev. James Hervey—now remembered as the author of the florid and piously sentimental composition of "Meditations among the Tombs, in a Flower Garden," etc.—published a predestinarian work in the form of Dialogues of Theron and Aspasio. Mr. Wesley sent letters to the author (his former pupil, and one of the Oxford Methodists) objecting to various parts of the dialogues. Mr. Hervey prepared eleven letters in reply, but hesitated to publish. In 1758 he died, and his executors published them. They were noted for great asperity, and were very injurious to the spread of Methodism, especially in Scotland. In his Preface to Goodwin's treatise on Justification, Mr. Wesley notices and refutes twelve of the personalities. Some of these accused him of acting unworthy a gentleman, a Christian, or a man of sense; of impudence; of denying justification by faith, and being an enemy to the righteousness of Christ; of being a heretic, propagating poisonous doctrine; of being an antinomian; of teaching popish doctrine; and of being a knave, a dishonest man, one of no truth, justice, or integrity. It was thought that these ornaments in the eleven letters were interpolations of the publisher, William Cudworth, the Antinomian.

The Rev. Dr. Erskine, a Scotch minister, wrote a defense of Mr. Hervey's writings. Mr. Wesley published in 1766 "some remarks" on the defense, complaining of the bitter spirit of Dr. Erskine, and of his recommendation of the eleven letters:

"You ushered into this part of the world [Scotland] one of the most bitter libels that was ever penned against me; written by a dying man, (so far as it was written by poor, well-meaning Mr. Hervey,) with a trembling hand, just as he was tottering on the margin of the grave. . . . He then fell on one to whom he had the deepest obligations, on one who had never intentionally wronged him, who had never spoken an unkind word of him, or to him, and who loved him as his own child. O tell it not in Gath! The good Mr. Hervey (if these letters were his) died cursing his spiritual father! And these letters another good man has introduced into Scotland, and warmly recommended."

After this he answered the question "What is an Arminian?" and signed himself in the tract "a lover of free grace." Many looked upon an Arminian as a mad dog, and yet knew not what an Arminian was. The answer shows that the chief difference in the Calvinist and Arminian is, that the former holds to unconditional and the latter conditional election. The whole predestinarian dispute may be resolved into the two words, conditional election or unconditional!

Accompanying the tract is another, showing "Thoughts upon God's Sovereignty." One expression in the treatise comes to the verge of Calvinism:

"It may be allowed that God acts as Sovereign in convincing some souls of sin, arresting them in their wild career by his resistless power. It seems also that, at the moment of our conversion, he acts irresistibly. There may be likewise many irresistible touches during the course of our Christian warfare."

So far he speaks as a Calvinist; but as an Arminian, he says that "every individual may, after all that God has done, either improve his grace, or make it of none effect."

In 1770 came out the celebrated Minutes of the London Methodist Conference, kindling up as a wind the predestinarian dispute to the highest flame. The Minutes asserted that the Methodist preachers, in their care not to offend, had leaned too much toward Calvinism, 1. In not enough insisting on the necessity of man's faithfulness; 2. In not sufficiently showing that there is working *for* life as well as *from* life; and, 3. In not insisting enough that man must do (not nothing, but) much in order to justification. The Calvinists were exceedingly displeased. Lady Huntingdon and her friend, Rev. Mr. Shirley, sounded an alarm that Mr. Wesley and his preachers had broached principles "injurious to the very fundamental principles of Christianity," forming "dreadful heresy." Here was the occasion of the Rev. John Fletcher entering on the

path of controversy. First, he published a Vindication of the Minutes, or his first Check to Antinomianism. Then followed his second, third, and fourth Checks. The new Arminian defender did the work so well, and was found so able to cope with the dispute and the disputants, that Mr. Wesley did not enter the arena.

But in 1772 he sent out "Some Remarks on Mr. Hill's Review of all the Doctrines taught by Mr. John Wesley." He laments Mr. Fletcher's gentleness and mildness in writing to the bitter Calvinists, which were interpreted as "mere sneer and sarcasm;" as for himself, he says: "I have humbled myself to these men for these thirty years; but will do so no more. Whatever mercy you show, you are to expect no mercy from them. 'Mercy,' did I say? Alas! I expect no justice; no more than I have found already. As they have wrested and distorted my words from the beginning, so I expect they will do to the end." Here we have an insight into the bitterness of the predestinarian writers of the eighteenth century. Next to Mr. Hervey, Mr. Richard Hill (afterward Sir Richard) was the most angry controversialist:

"Growing desperate, and making toward him
With a determined gladiatorial air."

Mr. Wesley contends that all the objections in the Review were old, and had been answered again and again, excepting one, a note in the New Testament, which he promised to correct. Having drawn the sword in the new predestinarian campaign, he also threw away the scabbard. Says he:

"I will no more desire any Arminian, so called, to remain only on the defensive. Rather chase the fiend, Reprobation, to his own hell, and every doctrine connected with it. Let none pity or spare one limb of either speculative or practical antinomianism; or of any doctrine that naturally tends thereto, however veiled under the specious name of free grace."

Mr. Hill replied to Mr. Wesley, who replied again in "Some Remarks on Mr. Hill's Farrago Double Distilled," in 1773, and related the following little anecdote:

"One Sunday, immediately after sermon, my father's clerk said, with an audible voice, 'Let us sing to the praise and glory of God a hymn of my own composing.' It was short and sweet:

'King William is come home, come home!
King William home is come!
Therefore let us together sing
The hymn that's called Te D'um!'"

Sir Richard gave up the contest to Mr. (afterward Rev.) Rowland Hill, who issued "Imposture Detected." Mr. Wesley replied in 1777. Rowland Hill in his youth shadowed forth the coarseness of

his mature and old age. He scrupled not to call the venerable Wesley "the lying apostle of the Foundry," and spoke of the claws of the designing wolf;" designated the conference "Wesley's ragged legion of preaching tinkers, scavengers, draymen, and chimney sweepers;" and asks, "Why do not they keep the shatter-brained old gent locked up in a garret?" Next came on the arena the Rev. Augustus Toplady; but all Mr. Wesley wrote against this "young bold man" was a tract of four pages. Nor did he soil his fingers any more with these virulent predestinarians, but left them in the grip of Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Oliver, and Mr. Sellon. Still he kept up a fire on Calvinism in his Arminian Magazine, begun 1778, as long as he lived.

The predestinarian controversy, we see, occupied a large amount of the attention of our founder, as well as his brother, and the preachers generally. They all looked upon Calvinism as the deadly enemy of Scriptural holiness, and therefore fought it with all their might. "All the devices of Satan, for these fifty years, have done far less toward stopping this work of God than that single doctrine. It strikes at the root of salvation from sin, previous to glory, putting the matter on quite another issue." (Larger Minutes, quest. 74.)

2. The philosophical and religious subject of *Necessity*, a kindred topic to predestination, attracted the thoughts of Mr. Wesley, and he published two tracts on the inquiry, Whether man is under the law of necessity? or, Is he a free agent? He takes notice of and opposes different theories, as the vibrations of the brain, the animal spirits, the inward mechanism as clock-work, and the scheme of motives by President Edwards. The latter argues that actions are caused by motives, that motives are not under our power, and therefore what we do is from necessity.

3. One of the earliest controversies of Mr. Wesley was on the subject of *Miracles*. The Rev. Dr. Middleton, librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, published, in 1748, a "Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the Earliest Ages." Several writers attacked the work, (of nearly four hundred quarto pages,) which was generally condemned by the clergy. "I had designed to set out with a friend for Rotterdam," says Mr. Wesley, January 2, 1749, "but being much pressed to answer Dr. Middleton's book against the Fathers, I postponed my voyage, and spent almost twenty days in the unpleasant employment." The answer is called "A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Conyers Middleton, occasioned by his late Free Inquiry." The promise to work miracles is Mark xiv, 17, 18. Another Scripture for the exemplifications of the power is Acts ii, 16, 17.

And a further account is 1 Cor. xii, 4-11. The chief spiritual or miraculous gifts were eight, namely: "(1.) Casting out devils; (2.) Speaking with new tongues; (3.) Escaping dangers, in which otherwise they must have perished; (4.) Healing the sick; (5.) Prophecy, foretelling things to come; (6.) Visions; (7.) Divine dreams; and (8.) Discerning spirits." After the lifetime of the apostles, these gifts remained with the Church until the fourth century, as is proved by the testimonies of the early writers, and by the traditions handed down from generation to generation. Middleton (not a strong believer in the Scriptures, though a reverend) attacked the evidences, argued that they only proved frauds and no miracles; or if miracles, then the same kind of evidence proves the frauds of the Romish Church miracles. In reply, Mr. Wesley contended that the testimonies of the Fathers for the miracles of the three first centuries is good; but not so the testimonies for the popish frauds. He also declares that in overturning the testimonies of the early Fathers, he overturns the testimony of the earlier Fathers, the writers of the New Testament, for the miracles of Christ, the apostles, and the first Christians. Middleton is closely followed by his logical opponent, who convicts him of many false conclusions, of no little ignorance of the Fathers, of various instances of self-contradiction, and for affording ground for suspicion of his own orthodoxy. The letter is still worth reading on the important subject of the Miracles of the Primitive Church. Dr. Middleton's work excited much interest (as well as some other of his works) in their day, chiefly by their excellent style. The Inquiry is noted for effecting the conversion of Gibbon, the historian of the Roman Empire—then a student in Oxford—from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic Church in 1753.

4. The *defense of Methodism*, as the new system was called by the enemies of it, engaged the controversial pen of the founder for many years of his life. He began in 1740, and in a reply to "a late pamphlet, entitled, 'A brief History of the Principles of Methodism,' written by a Dr. Tucker." His reply gave the real "Principles of a Methodist," and was, he considered, his first appearance as a controversialist. Says he:

"I have often wrote on controverted points before, but not with an eye to any particular person; so that this is the first time I have appeared in controversy, properly so called. . . . I now tread an untried path with fear and trembling; fear not of my adversary, but of myself. I fear my own spirit; lest I fall where many mightier have been slain."

He considered a controversialist should "keep steadily and uniformly to the question, without ever striking at the person;" and his many controversies show that this he ever kept in view.

His pen was used, in 1747, against the Bishop of London, who, in his charge to the clergy, numbering more than two thousand, attacked the Methodists and Moravians as enemies to the Established Church, and as spreading "doctrines big with pernicious influences upon practice." The "Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, occasioned by his lordship's charge late to his clergy," is a spirited and dignified reply. He says he has passed by for several years "abundance of persons" who had wrongfully charged him; but he could not be silent when so distinguished a person was "under considerable mistakes" concerning him, lest silence should be construed into contempt. The writer had "good reason to believe his lordship was entirely satisfied" with the answer. (Letter to Mr. Free.) Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield, a few years before, had waited upon Bishop Gibson; and a few years after many French prisoners petitioned the bishop to allow Mr. Fletcher to preach to them in their own language, and were refused. A few months after the refusal the bishop died of a cancer in his mouth. "Some may think this was a just retribution for silencing such a prophet on such an occasion. I am not ashamed to acknowledge that is my own sentiment." (Wesley's Life of Fletcher.) Bishop Gibson was in his eightieth year when he died; and though an opposer of Methodism, which he considered a system of enthusiasm, yet he was a useful man, and almost unequaled in the annals of literary exertion.

In 1750 a Rev. Mr. Baily, of Cork, wrote against the Methodist preachers of the city, and a defense of the corporation and clergy for the persecuting riots of 1749. Mr. Wesley replies to the curate of Christ's Church. One of the complaints against Mr. Wesley was, that he was as fond of riches as the most worldly clergymen. Says Mr. Baily, two thousand members paying "two thousand pence a week!" besides, "a fine yearly revenue from assurance and salvation tickets!" Mr. Wesley, in a letter to the Mayor of Cork, asked to be "treated (I will not say as a clergyman, a gentleman, a Christian) with such justice and humanity as are due to a Jew, a Turk, or a Pagan." A particular account of the Cork riots is to be found in the Journals.

One bishop had set an example of attack on the new sect; he was followed by another, the Bishop of Exeter, who published a book, entitled, "The Enthusiasm of the Methodists and Papists compared." Mr. Wesley replied in a letter, dated 1750, and in another of 1752:

"I began writing a letter to the Comparer of the Papists and Methodists. Heavy work, such as I should never choose; but sometimes it must be done. Well might the ancient say, 'God made practical divinity necessary, the devil

controversial.' But it is necessary : we must resist the devil, or he will not fly from us."—*Journal*, November, 1751.

Bishop Lavington undertook to prove that the whole conduct of the Methodists was but a counterpart of the most wild fanaticism of Popery, by citing the writings of both sects ; and that the Methodists were advancing Popery. Mr. Wesley followed the bishop step by step unto the end in two letters, and thus winds up :

"I have at length gone through your whole performance, weighed whatever you cite from my writings, and shown at large how far those passages are from proving all, or any part of your charge. So that all your attempts to build on them, of the pride and vanity of the Methodists ; of their shuffling and prevaricating ; of their affectation and prophesying ; laying claim to the miraculous favors of heaven ; unsteadiness of temper, unsteadiness in sentiment and practice ; art and cunning ; giving up inspiration and extraordinary calls ; skepticism, infidelity, Atheism ; uncharitableness to their opponents ; contempt of order and authority ; and fierce, rancorous quarrels with each other ; of the tendency of Methodism to undermine morality and good works ; and to carry on the good work Popery. All this fabric falls to the ground at once, unless you can find some better foundation to support it."

Doubtless the Methodists were and are possessed of some enthusiasm. So were Christ and the apostles. So our founder acknowledged to the charge : "I have much constitutional enthusiasm, and you have much more." (Letter to Charles Wesley, 1753.) And how can any great object be attained without enthusiasm ? Bishop Lavington was a low disputant, seeing to help his cause he laid hold of slander. He published in his book that Mr. Wesley said to a certain maid "in his chamber in the night such things as were not fit to be spoken." Whereas he says he never slept a night in that house, and was never even in that town after sunset. Ten years after he was in Exeter. On Sunday morning he went to the Cathedral, a very large, ancient, and grand Gothic edifice, and heard a useful sermon. The great sounding organ particularly attracted his attention, as it does yet the attention of all strangers. After the public service he partook of the sacrament, administered by the bishop. He remarks : "I was well pleased to partake of the Lord's Supper with my old opponent, Bishop Lavington. O may we sit down together in the kingdom of our Father!"

Two years before he engaged with the Bishop of Exeter he ended a controversial correspondence with a Mr. John Smith, otherwise the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Thomas Secker. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1753. He wrote a series of letters to Mr. Wesley on the doctrines and practices of the Methodists rather in the spirit of an inquirer, and they were severally replied to. The correspondence began in 1745, and ended in 1748. John Smith's

letters are in an appendix to Moore's *Life of Wesley*. The replies are six, and are in the usual editions of Wesley's works.

In 1758 a Rev. Dr. Free attacked the Methodists and their founder, who replied in two letters. One was written in Tullamore, in Ireland. He says: "I wrote a short answer to Dr. Free's weak, bitter, scurrilous invective against the people called Methodists. But I doubt whether I shall meddle with him any more; he is too dirty a writer for me to touch." As Dr. Free published a sermon on the same subject, and in the same strain, Mr. Wesley gave him another letter, and says: "I wrote a second letter to Dr. Free, the warmest opponent I have had for many years. I leave him now to laugh and scold, and witticise and call names just as he pleases, for I have done." It may be supposed that in the great field congregations collections were usually taken up; but Dr. Free is told that "the pence and the preaching" did not "go hand in hand together."

In the same year he wrote a letter to the Rev. Mr. Potter, who had published a sermon "on the pretended Inspiration of the Methodists." In the letter he declares that he contended not for the extraordinary inspiration of the apostles, but for the promised assistance of the Holy Spirit to all Christians.

In 1759 we find "A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Downes, Rector of St. Michael's, Wood-street, London, occasioned by his late tract, entitled, '*Methodism Examined and Exposed*.'" Here is the conclusion of the whole matter: "In a word, all ancient heresies have in a manner concetrated in the Methodists; particularly those of the Simonians, Gnostics, Antinomians, Valentinians, Donatists, and Montanists!" Says Mr. Wesley: "While your hand was in you might as well have added, Carpocratians, Eutychians, Nestorians, Sabellians." Nothing new was brought against the Methodists; but the old objections had to be answered again. The writer made bold assertions; but was "so bold because he was so blind." It appears that Mr. Downes did not see the reply, but died before it was published. The widow procured a tract to be written in answer; but as it contained no little virulence and scurrility he did not notice it. (*Journal*, November, 1760.)

In 1762 the Rev. Dr. Horne preached a sermon on justification before the University of Oxford, in which he spoke of the "heresies making their periodical revelations," and of the "new lights at the Tabernacle and Foundry," and objected to justification by faith alone, but rather by works accompanying it. Mr. Wesley replied to the sermon, and set forth the Protestant, the Church of England, and the Scriptural doctrine of justification by faith alone against

the five arguments of the preacher. The tract is a concise and clear defense of the doctrine against some plausible objections. Dr. Horne was the author of a Commentary of the Psalms, which Mr. Wesley thought was the best ever written. It seems that the gentleman was a Hutchinsonian in his creed.

ART. VI.—HOURS WITH THE MYSTICS.

Hours with the Mystics. A Contribution to the History of Religious Opinion.

By ROBERT ALFRED VAUGHAN. 2 vols. London: Parker & Son. 1856.

Essays and Remains of the Rev. Robert Alfred Vaughan. Edited, with a Memoir, by the Rev. ROBERT VAUGHAN. 2 vols. London: Parker & Son. 1858.

THE intelligence of the death of Mr. R. A. Vaughan, in the autumn of 1857, produced peculiar feelings of disappointment and sadness in the hearts of his many personal and theological friends. He had been known as the author of a volume of poetry, *The Witch of Endor and other Poems*, published while a student in the Lancashire Independent College. Subsequently, his papers in the *British Quarterly*, marked as they were by vast research and chastened imagination, gave his name admission to some of the leading literary circles of England and Scotland. But thus far his reputation as an author was only circumscribed, and it was not until the appearance of *Hours with the Mystics* that the public became fairly acquainted with him. The work was received with instant attention and favor. A number of the prominent critical periodicals contained commendatory and exhaustive reviews of it, while it created no little stir among the gowned race on the banks of the Isis and the Cam. Not that it was hailed with such enthusiasm as deifies some books that are born in a palace on a bright morning, but die before night by the wayside, and are buried in the potter's field. Denied such an ostentatious natal hour, it was happily spared from a like premature and ignoble grave. Its mission was not to the masses, but to the thinking mind and the feeling heart. The facts it contained had never before been condensed into even a score of works; the style was pure and engaging, the treatment skillful and attractive. The favorable judgments upon it were for the most part from exalted sources; and the author's laurels were of such value that but a tithe of them would have been ample reward for those five years of unremitting labor in languishing health.

But scarcely had Mr. Vaughan time to witness such a favorable

reception of his work before he was compelled to lay down his pen and die. The interest previously excited in reference to him was now doubled; and to satisfy this, as well as to pay a tribute to the worth of an affectionate and gifted son, Dr. Vaughan, himself an eminent English author, collected his various minor productions and published them under the title of *Essays and Remains*. The work embraces a memoir, contributions to British magazines, the best poems of the deceased, and some fragmentary but valuable reflections on religion. The memoir was sad work for a father, but we thank him for it, because it admits the light into a great soul, and shows us how much of love and usefulness can be combined into a brief lifetime. Though painted by a kindred hand, we can detect no attempt to gloss irregularities of feature. We discover many traces of a father's tears, but nowhere do they blind the critic's eye or bribe his pen.

It would be alike instructive and interesting to linger at some of those parts in the course of the *Memoir* that describe the phases of Mr. Vaughan's inner experience, but we are assured that we deal stricter justice to the dead in giving but a hasty glance at the events of his life in order to widen the field for the consideration of his greatest work. He was born in Worcester on the 18th of March, 1823. At the close of his thirteenth year he entered the school of University College, London, and in 1842 he took his Bachelor's degree with honors in the classics. We find him a student in the Lancashire Independent College in 1843; and after completing his theological course in that institution he went to Germany, and was matriculated at the University of Halle. Not long had he been attending the lectures there before he began to be acclimated to the hazy atmosphere of German speculation. He was learning to dream too, and his faith was on the wane. Unlike many unfortunate ones, however, under similar circumstances, he saw his error and embraced the remedy for it. So he passed through the ordeal of rationalistic doubts, and came out like tried gold. After enjoying the rare opportunities afforded him, not least of which was the society of the saintlike Tholuck, he returned to England a stronger and better man. He then accompanied his father on a tour through Switzerland and Italy, after which he assumed the active duties of the ministry by becoming assistant pastor in Bath with that distinguished and useful man the Rev. William Jay. In 1848 he was married, and continued his pastoral labors in Bath two years. From there he was called to Birmingham, where he remained until the summer of 1855, when failing health compelled him to resign his charge.

It was during his residence in the last named place that he performed the most of his literary work. Marvelous does it seem to find this young man writing articles for the best reviews of England, learning languages and dialects in order to apply their treasures to his commenced *magnum opus*, ministering to the spiritual wants of a large congregation, and all this with a constitutionally delicate and now diseased body. The consumption had fastened upon his lungs, and cessation from ministerial labor was his only reasonable hope of protracting life. It was a bitter day to him when he parted with his Church, but submission to God was no new lesson for him to learn. The subsequent intervals of strength he devoted mainly to composition; and he died in great peace of mind in the thirty-fifth year of his age, but shortly after the emphatic utterance of the words, "Yes, God is very good." Thus ended, as calmly as a summer day, a life singularly earnest, spiritual, and suggestive. Of all men Dr. Vaughan was best adapted to sketch it, for the intelligent interest and counsel of the father had much to do with the molding it; while in return there were confided to that father's heart all the plans, and hopes, and prospects of a nobly gifted son.

In passing through the rich gallery of the *Essays* we will only linger a moment before a few of the finest paintings. The article on *Origen* was Mr. Vaughan's first essay in Church history. The sources from which he was required to draw his materials were obscure and chaotic; but patient study, a sound judgment, and the imagination of the true poet have clothed the Alexandrian Father in such a modern but truthful dress as the most ardent admirer of patristic times would have deemed impossible. You are transported to an enchanted country, a Ulysses on Ogygia, but without the dangers of shipwreck or the wiles of Calypso. We first read the *Origen* in travel, commencing on the cars, and concluding in a superannuated, creaking stage. When finished it was like awakening from a dream; certainly were all history written in such a style, the world would read it as the richest romance. The studies pursued in connection with Origen, awakened in Mr. Vaughan's mind not only an interest in the mysticism of that day, but a strong inclination for the study of religious opinions throughout the Middle Ages. This was the source of his best essays, as also of the work on which his reputation now rests. In an article of the *Eclectic Review*, which we are guaranteed in ascribing to the chaste and scholarly pen of the Rev. John Brown Paton, of Sheffield, we find this mention: "This first historical study of his [the *Origen* of Mr. Vaughan] we doubt not was the seed, accidentally dropped, which brought

forth such stores of fruit in *Hours with the Mystics*. His chief articles, written afterward, hover near the same subject, showing the fascination with which it engrossed his mind." The monograms in *Schleiermacher* and *Savonarola and his Times*, abound less in imagery, but have magic power to transport the reader to other times and lands. They were conceived and studied during the author's student life in Germany. There is no thinker of modern times more misunderstood than Schleiermacher; and we have here such a clear setting forth of his doctrines and their merit that we have not been able to find an approach to it in our language. It may be profitably studied in the absence of a rigid investigation of the varied works of the great Berlin professor and preacher. We have then reviews of Mackay's *Religious Development in Greece*, Kingsley's *Hypatia*, Lady Holland's *Sydney Smith*, and Young's *Christ of History*. This last paper is a manly defense of the supernaturalism of Christianity. It proves the author to have been trained in the school of Henry Rogers, only a tithe, it may be acknowledged, of the service rendered by the Independent Church of Great Britain to the cause of evangelical truth. We trust the barriers she has raised may successfully resist the further progress of German Rationalism in England. The next essays are on *Lewes's Life and Works of Goethe*, *French Romances of the Thirteenth Century*, and some *Fragments of Criticism*. The work closes with two poems, *Antony, a Masque*, and *The Disenchantment*. Many of the articles in these two volumes attracted marked attention as they appeared, but that false dignity which requires a man's property to circulate without his name, precluded the possibility on the part of many from identifying their author. We meet a number of old friends in this work whose acquaintance we first made in the *Eclectic Magazine* of New York. It makes them doubly dear to us to know the writer's name, and something of his interesting life. But his pen will yield no more of that rare fruit, in which beauty of style, deep research, and kindness of heart ever held such friendly company.

But the *Essays and Remains* of Mr. Vaughan were only the coastings of his venturesome youth, the mere pleasure-trips of his genius. The great voyage of his life, by which we become possessed of so much treasure, is *Hours with the Mystics*. The work is in the form of a dialogue. A circle of friends converse about the Mystics and their doctrines. They read essays also, and thus, by a pleasing variety, they pass through the entire field of mysticism down to the death of Swedenborg. Verily these intimates have chosen a strange topic; but let us sit down with them and listen to

what they say. First of all let us hear one of them define their theme:

"Mysticism, whether in religion or philosophy, is that form of error which mistakes for a divine manifestation the operations of a merely human faculty. . . . Speaking of Christian mysticism, I should describe it generally as the exaggeration of that aspect of Christianity which is presented to us by St. John. . . . I refer chiefly to that admixture of the contemplative temperament and the ardent by which he is personally distinguished, the opposition so manifest in his epistles to all religion of mere speculative opinion or outward usage, the concentration of Christianity, as it were, upon the inward life derived from union with Christ. This would seem to be the province of Christian truth especially occupied by the beloved disciple, and this is the province which mysticism has in so many ways usurped. . . . Thus much I think is evident from our inquiry, that mysticism, true to its derivation as denoting a hidden knowledge, faculty, or life, (the exclusive privilege of sage, adept, or recluse,) presents itself, in all its phases, as more or less the religion of internal as opposed to external revelation, of heated feeling, sickly sentiment, or lawless imagination, as opposed to that reasonable belief in which the intellect and the heart, the inward witness and the outward, are alike engaged."

Thus much for mysticism; as to the real Mystic, let us hear Charles Kingsley as he has described him in *Fraser's Magazine*:

"A Mystic, according to the Greek etymology, should signify one who is initiated into mysteries, one whose eyes are opened to see things which other people cannot see. And the true Mystic, in all ages and countries, has believed that this was the case with him. He believes there is an invisible world as well as a visible one—so do most men; but the Mystic believes also that this same invisible world is not merely a supernumerary one world more, over and above the earth on which he lives, and the stars over his head, but that it is the cause of them and the ground of them; that it was the cause of them at first, and is the cause of them now, even to the budding of every flower, and the falling of every pebble to the ground; and therefore, that having been before this visible world it will be after it, and endure just as real, living, and eternal though matter were annihilated to-morrow."

With these data in view we are now prepared to trace the course of that changing but fascinating *ignis fatuus* called mysticism, which first rose far back in the early and shadowy history of Hindoostan. We afterward find it standing over Alexandria in the time of Philo and Plotinus; then attracting the attention of the Greek and Latin Churches; and after trying to eclipse the scholasticism of the fourteenth century, we behold it leading some of the Reformers to the wildest extremes of fanaticism. For a while it lingered over the romantic and chivalrous, though superstitious land of Spain; then shooting across the Pyrenees, it dazzled the master minds of the brilliant reign of Louis XIV. In England it shone with decreased luster, but only to burst forth with more than its ancient splendor over the land of Emanuel Swedenborg. How fitful its course, how unsteady and different colored its light! Truly "it has

been incorporated in theism, atheism, and pantheism. It has given new gods at every step, and it has denied all deity except self. It has appeared in the loftiest speculation and in the grossest idolatry. It has been associated with the wildest license and the most pitiless asceticism. It has driven men out into action, it has dissolved them in ecstasy, and frozen them to torpor. . . . It has no genealogy. It is no tradition conveyed across frontiers, or down the course of generations, as a ready-made commodity. It is a state of thinking and feeling to which minds of a certain temperament are liable at any time or place in Occident or Orient, whether Romanist or Protestant, Jew, Turk, or Infidel." But as flowers, however unlike to the uncultivated eye, are subject to system and class, and are often found to harmonize in species, so there are landmarks even to the extravagances and antipodal developments of mysticism. They can all be embraced in three classes; 1. The theopathic; 2. The theosophic; 3. The theurgic. The first of these is subdivided into transitive and intransitive. To transitive theopathy belong "all turbulent prophets and crazy fanatics. . . . such as Tanchelm, who appeared in the twelfth century, and announced himself appointed as the residence of deity; as Gitchel, who believed himself appointed to expiate by his prayers and penance the sins of all mankind; or as Kuhlman, who traversed Europe, the imagined head of the Fifth Monarchy, summoning kings and nobles to submission. . . . But we must not forget that this species of mysticism has been found associated with the announcement of vital truths, for instance, by George Fox and the early Quakers." Intransitive theopathy claims such men as St. Bernard, notwithstanding his many active labors, together with Suso, Ruysbroek, Molinos, and all the Quietists. Second: theosophy. "The theosophist is one who gives you a theory of God, or of the works of God, which has not reason but an inspiration of his own for its basis." Plotinus and Behmen are the representatives of this class. Third: theurgic mysticism. The theurgic Mystic "works marvels, not like the black art by help from beneath, but as white magic, by the virtue of talisman or cross, demigod, angel, or saint. . . . Is not content, like the theopathic, with either feeling or proselyting, nor, like the theosophic, with knowing; but must open for himself a converse with the world of spirits, and win as its prerogative the power of miracle." Jamblicus, Dionysius, Proclus, Apollonius of Tyana, Peter of Alcantara, Asclepienia, and St. Theresa were theurgic Mystics.

The most striking characteristics of mysticism, as they were developed in different ages, are to be found combined in its very earliest history. The Bagvat-Gita of old India contains a species of mys-

ticism in many respects identical with that of Christendom. The Hindoo Mystic aimed at an ultimate absorption into the Infinite, which amounted, in fact, to the destruction of personality. But to reach this, the trance, "a withdrawal into the inmost self," must be inculcated. The Bagvat-Gita also contains pantheism in abundance, which Hegelians must know is the key-stone to the superstitions of modern India. Besides this, it recognized miraculous powers in man, and obliterated the distinction between good and evil.

Mysticism appears next in connection with Philo, at Alexandria, "the first meeting place of the waters of the eastern and western theosophies." It was the labor of Philo to harmonize the Old Testament with his favorite philosophy, Moses with Plato. We now meet ascetic mysticism full in the face as practiced by the Therapeutæ. "Their cells are scattered about the region bordering on the farther shore of the Lake Mareotis. The members of either sex live a single and ascetic life, spending their time in fasting and contemplation, in prayer or reading. They believe themselves favored with divine illumination—an inner light. They assemble on the Sabbath for worship, and listen to mystical discourses, or the traditional lore which they say has been handed down in secret among themselves. They also celebrate solemn dances and processions, of a mystic significance, by moonlight on the shore of the great mere. Sometimes, on an occasion of public rejoicing, the margin of the lake on our side will be lit with a fiery chain of illuminations, and galleys hung with lights row to and fro with strains of music sounding over the broad water. Then the Therapeutæ are all hidden in their little hermitages, and these sights and sounds of the world they have abandoned make them withdraw into themselves and pray." Meanwhile Plotinus appears upon the stage as a leading character. So numerous were the systems of philosophy that presented themselves to his mind, that he is tossed on a sea of doubt and perplexity. While in this state of mind he accompanies a friend to hear Ammonius Saccas lecture. Ammonius is the champion of eclecticism. The two friends find him declaring that Plato and Aristotle can be reconciled. Plotinus is ravished at the lecture; he is soon a willing student at the feet of Ammonius. With the new disciple Platonism becomes everything; "it alone can save men from the abyss of skepticism." He grows more charmed with his teacher every day, and in process of time he emerges the veritable father of Neo-Platonism. The points of difference which our author lays down between Platonism and Neo-Platonism are condensed into one very sound and intelligible paragraph:

"The Neo-Platonists became ascetics and enthusiasts; Plato was neither. Where Plato acknowledges the services of the earliest philosophers—the imperfect utterances of the world's first thoughts—Neo-Platonism (in its later period at least) undertakes to detect, not the similarity merely, but the identity between Pythagoras and Plato, and even to exhibit the Platonism of Orpheus and of Hermes. Where Plato is hesitant or obscure, Neo-Platonism inserts a meaning of its own, and is confident that such, and no other, was the master's mind. Where Plato indulges in a fancy, or hazards a bold assertion, Neo-Platonism, ignoring the doubts Plato may himself express elsewhere, spins it out into a theory, or bows to it as an infallible revelation. Where Plato has the doctrine of Reminiscence, Neo-Platonism has the doctrine of Ecstasy. In the Reminiscence of Plato, the ideas the mind perceives are without it. Here there is no mysticism, only the mistake incidental to metaphysicians generally, of giving an actual existence to mere mental abstractions."

The opinions of Plotinus did serious injury to the Christian Church of the third century; as, thirteen centuries later, were the wild views of some who were favorable to Protestantism, exceedingly detrimental to the purity and progress of the German Reformation. But if Plotinus was a Plato worshiper, Porphyry did equal honors to Aristotle. The latter did not accept paganism as it existed, although he contended for it. His battle was against two powerful foes: the superstitions of old paganism, and the growing power of young Christianity. But Christianity could not be repulsed, and paganism could not be reformed. It is true that Porphyry was the most powerful of all the enemies of the early Church; but it should be remembered that he was not an unmitigated heathen. For "he and men like him constituted themselves the defenders of a paganism which did but partially acknowledge their advocacy. Often suspected by the emperors, they were still oftener maligned and persecuted by the jealousy of the priests. They were the unaccredited champions of paganism, for they sought to refine while they conserved it. They defended it, not as zealots, but as men of letters. They defended it, because the old faith could boast of great names and great achievements in speculation, literature, and art, and because the new appeared novel and barbarian in its origin, and humiliating in its claims. They wrote, they lectured, they disputed in favor of the temple and against the Church, because they dreamed of the days of Pericles under the yoke of the empire; not because they worshiped idols, but because they worshiped Plato." This same error is a prominent feature of the Unitarianism of the nineteenth century. We mean a mistaking of the esthetics for religion, and of cultivating the abstractions of the mind to the complete overthrow and annihilation of the emotions of the heart. Heaven deliver us from our Boston Porphyrys!

Theurgic mysticism claims Jamblicus for its founder. According to him there are four great orders of spiritual existence: gods,

demons, heroes or demigods, and souls. Below these are the malignant demons, or antigods. The gods confer blessings on the body and soul, and the demons afflict them. The subordinate powers confer temporal advantages, preside over matter, and stimulate the soul to great actions. Proclus closes the list of Neo-Platonists; and what an end to Neo-Platonism in general, and Proclus in particular!

"After years of austerity and toil, Proclus—the scholar, stored with the opinions of the past, surrounded by the admiration of the present; the astronomer, the geometrician, the philosopher; learned in the lore of symbols and of oracles, in the rapt utterances of Orpheus and of Zoroaster; an adept in the ritual of invocations among every people in the world—he, at the close, pronounces Quietism the consummation of the whole, and an unreasoning contemplation, an ecstasy which casts off as an incumbrance all the knowledge so painfully acquired, the bourne of all the journey."

Thus far has mysticism been on the side of paganism, and battling with the doctrines of Jesus of Nazareth. Let us now see it in warm friendship with Christianity as it existed in the early Greek Church. They have never met before; we must therefore not be shocked at the ridiculous visions of St. Anthony and the mystic Anchorites. But the first prominent character whose acquaintance we make is Dionysius the Areopagite. Whether or not Dionysius wrote the books that bear his name is a disputed point, which, like so many others in the thread of history, research and ingenuity have never been able to untie. The most we can do is to look at them as they are. Dionysius was a convert to Christianity under the preaching of St. Paul on Mars Hill. But the works ascribed to him were not considered genuine until A. D. 533. As they were afterward found to favor the claims of the hierarchy, the Church stamped them with her seal of approval, and it soon became heresy to deny that Dionysius was their author. The probabilities, however, are against their genuineness, and history long ago called the writer of them the pseudo-Dionysius. He labored "to accommodate the theosophy of Proclus to Christianity, . . . to strengthen all the pretensions of the priesthood, and to invest with a new traditional sanction the ascetic virtues of the cloister." His views on hierarchies form the boldest and most influential part of his whole system: God and the lowest angel are united by many intermediate links, and the members of one spiritual class are always striving to attain the next highest, so as to approach as near as possible to God. Thus he demonstrates the celestial hierarchy, "a corresponding series to the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the visible world. . . . The Saviour is rather the Logos of the Platonist than the Son of God revealed in Scripture. He is

allowed to be, as incarnate, the founder of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; but, as such, he is removed from men by the long chain of priestly orders, and is less the Redeemer than remotely the illuminator of the species." Such are the opinions of the man who began at Byzantium to dig the channels for the flow of European mysticism. No wonder that both great branches of the Church began to believe in the supernatural powers of the priesthood.

Mysticism now comes westward, and from its home among the Greek Christians it takes up its residence within the pale of the Latin Church. Through John Scotus Erigena and Hugo, of St. Victor, the hierarchal system of the pseudo-Dionysius is transplanted from the Euxine to Atlantic. And now let us turn from its revels in Byzantium to witness its operations within the celebrated Abbey of Clairvaux. St. Bernard is prior. At the mention of his name what a series of wonderful events rise up before us like spirits from the past! Bernard was not a mere dreamer, but he did whatever his hand, his head, or his heart found to do. He was as willing to work with his monks in the abbey garden as to strive to reconcile rival popes; to speak words of encouragement and love to his inferiors as to fight the fearless Abelard; and to found abbeys and organize a crusade as to help cook a dinner in the kitchen of Clairvaux. Though carried away at times by fanaticism, he was withal a practical man; far more so than could be expected in an age when superstition was held to be religion, and enthusiasm the noblest development of a virtuous heart. His opinions had a large admixture of truth, though we can see that his brilliant imagination had much to do with all of them. But hear our author's estimate:

"In the theology of Bernard reason has a place, but not the right one. His error in this respect is the primary source of that mystical bias so conspicuous in his religious teaching. Like Anselm, he bids you believe first, and understand, if possible, afterward. He is not prepared to admit the great truth, that if reason yields to faith, and assigns itself anywhere a limit, it must be on grounds satisfactory to reason. . . . Faith, with Abelard, receives the treasure of divine truth wrapped up *involutum*. The understanding may afterward cautiously unfold the envelope and perfect the prize, but may never examine the contents at first to determine whether it shall be received or not. . . . Great, accordingly, was Bernard's horror when he beheld Abelard throwing open to discussion the dogmas of the Church; when he saw the alacrity with which such questions were taken up all over France, and learned that not the scholars of Paris merely, but an ignorant and stripling laity were discussing every day at street corners, in hall, in cottage, the mysteries of the Trinity and the immaculate conception. 'Faith,' he cried, 'believes, does not discuss.'"

Now behold his mysticism:

"The design of Christianity is, in his idea, not to sanctify and elevate all our powers, to raise us to our truest manhood, accomplishing in every excel-

lence all our faculties both of mind and body, but to teach us to nullify our corporeal part, to seclude ourselves, by abstraction, from its demands, and to raise us, while on earth, to a superhuman exaltation above the flesh—a vision and a glory approaching that of the angelic state. He extols the state of those who, not by gradual stages of ascent, but by a sudden rapture are elevated at times, like St. Paul, to the immediate vision of heavenly things. . . . Totally withdrawn into themselves, they are not only, like other good men, dead to the body and the world, and raised above the grosser hinderances of sense, but even beyond those images and similitudes drawn from visible objects which color and obscure our ordinary conceptions of spiritual truths.”

Bernard carried the symbolical meaning of the Scriptures to a ridiculous extent. In fact, he spiritualized the whole Bible, deeming it his duty “to draw as much meaning as possible from the sacred text.” But this, with many other errors of his life, should entitle him rather to our pity than to unmitigated criticism. His eventful career is a lesson to the world of what a man can do when he has the will, and a warning to the unwary of the power wielded by an uncontrolled imagination over even the strongest reason.

Hugo of St. Victor appears in the early part of the twelfth century. Bernard had fought against the speculations of the schoolmen, and he always waxed warm in the struggle; but Hugo of St. Victor labored to unite mysticism and scholasticism. In this he was successful; for under his hands “mysticism lost much of its vagueness, and scholasticism much of its frigidity.” Hugo drew his doctrines from the pseudo-Dionysius, and wrote a large commentary on the *Heavenly Hierarchies*. The result was, as Mr. Vaughan pointedly expresses it, Dionysius became more scriptural and human. Our faculties he classified into three divisions: 1. *Cogitatio*, the lowest; 2. *Meditatio*, the middle; 3. *Contemplatio*, the highest. These he subdivides and spiritualizes. After Hugo came Richard of St. Victor. He did more in the development of previous views than in the conception of new ones. With him we find our matter-of-fact Bible changed into a bundle of metaphors. His fancy casts a silken robe over every scriptural event. Like Bernard, Richard laid special stress on ecstasy: “When the body is asleep, and the soul is off in the presence of the Lord.”

From the Latin Church mysticism takes up its abode in Germany. German mysticism, how full of fancies, legends, and romance! Though half of them are better to doze over and dream about than to narrate, yet there is much that is instructive and entertaining. Unwillingly do we desist from gathering some of the fine flowers in this magnificent garden to give them to the readers of the Quarterly; but we must content ourselves with plucking only a leaf or two; or, at most, of sipping the honey from a few of the

sweetest. These may impress us with the charms of the spot and the luxuriance of the parent flowers.

In the fourteenth century the Rhineland was teeming with different sects and conflicting opinions. Indeed, it reminds us forcibly of a certain village in the United States, where there are several churches in the place; but so theological or independent are the people that you must multiply their churches by five before reaching the sum total of their creeds. The river Rhine flowed by the door of many a church whose shibboleth was very different from that of its neighbors. A black-gowned and scuttle-hatted man you could meet in your shortest morning excursion. No wonder that "folks called the Rhineland the 'Parson's Walk.'" Of all the preachers, Master Eckhart and Tauler are leading the van. Everybody is frantic about them. Master Eckhart preaches in Cologne, and when it is announced that he is to speak the whole city puts on its finest clothes and goes to hear him. The multitudes gaze on him with wonder, and listen to him with rapt attention as he rises from ideas clear to a child to theories which no one of his auditors could comprehend. But obscurity the people mistook for brilliance, which error was not confined to Master Eckhart's day. But there were a stateliness and grandeur about his best thoughts which filled his hearers with astonishment. He overawed them. Tauler's style is altogether different. He has more of the comprehensible and emotional in his sermons. He possesses the highest style of eloquence, for he makes you weep, while Master Eckhart only lifts you up in wonder. Better see something where you are that makes you feel and think, than to be lifted above the highest peaks to be dropped into the deepest chasm. Tauler is a fine character for study. It is a relief to meet with such a one when we find so many of his age carried away into the wildest extravagances. There are passages in his sermons that exhibit the finest diction as well as the purest doctrine. Would there had been more John Taulers at that time to lay stress on the condition of the heart, instead of indulging in such meaningless fancies!* After Tauler the first prominent Mystic we meet is Suso, who had been a disciple of Master Eckhart at Cologne. It is a sad sight to behold his self-torture. He seems, indeed, to have taxed all his inventive powers to devise means for inflicting upon himself the most exquisite pain. Suso had remarkable visions withal. They surpass all that St. John claims to have seen; and his adventures are so remarkable that they throw David's and Paul's quite in the shade. Poor man! he passed from earth believing

* To the labors of Miss Susanna Winkworth are we indebted for an excellent translation of Tauler's best sermons, as well as of the *Theologica Germanica*.

them. After Suso we meet with the names of St. Brigitta, Hildegard, Joachim, Savonarola, Angela de Foliqui, and Catherine of Siena. But we must not forget that good and quiet old monk, Thomas à Kempis. He cares not for speculations; he scorns them as cordially as did Melanethon at a later day. Sooner than dispute, he would have been led to the block. The heart was his study; to dive into its recesses was the labor of his long life. John Locke said of himself that he made his own mind the subject of his thought and inquiry; and from that source was produced his *Human Understanding*. What his mind was to Locke, his heart was to Kempis. What wonder then that the *Imitation of Christ* has led to so many conversions? It has been a world-book for centuries, and will never grow old.

We have long ago seen that mysticism took but little thought for its company. Not content with its alliance with Neo-Platonism and afterward with the prevalent Christianity of Europe, it seeks a new empire in distant Persia, and seals a bond of union with Mohammedanism. It there formed a sect and assumed the name of Sufism. So great did its influence become that it reached the Persian throne, and the descendants of a Sufi occupied it until the close of the seventeenth century, after an ascendancy of two hundred years. In that eastern climate mysticism developed itself in poetry, and a real Sufi was at the same time an ascetic, Mystic, and a devotee of the Muses. For centuries had the world been in doubt as to the value of the poetry of the Sufis, until Dr. Tholuck, of Germany, opened the sealed book, and made some of its precious contents public. Himself an ardent admirer of the purer forms of mysticism, he has cast such a ray of light upon its poetical development in Persia as entitles him to our lasting gratitude. Thus highly does he speak of the strains of the oriental mystic: *Der orientale, in seinen Palmenhainen, von der Welt zurückgezogen, hattedem Mysterium des inneru Lebens gelauscht, und es ausgesprochen, in den zartesten und lieblichsten Liedern, welche in menschlicher Brust entstanden sind.* The only two mystic poets of the West that deserve mention are Angelus Silesius and Ralph Waldo Emerson. The former lived in the seventeenth century; the latter is a familiar name to us now living. We were at a loss to know where Mr. Vaughan would place our distinguished essayist and lecturer. But here he is, a brother of the Sufis. So we must not be surprised to hear of Bostonians making a pilgrimage to Mecca and writing oracular songs by the way.

A most interesting era in the history of mysticism is its connection with the Reformation. If we are disposed to laugh at its absurdities at times, we must not depreciate its usefulness in arming

Germany against the abuses of papacy. Under Tauler it had grown more scriptural than formerly, and it was he who paved much of the way for Luther's great battle against Romanism. As soon, therefore, as Luther announced that the doctrine of justification by faith was scriptural, the best of the Mystics came heart and hand to his assistance. It was what they had been seeking so long, but in vain. They found here what they could not find in mysticism alone. But on the other hand, the extravagant Mystics seized arms against the great Reformer. They were headed by Dr. Bodeinstein, who called himself *Carlstadt*, after his native city. He was a professor in Wittenberg, and at first was a powerful advocate of Luther's doctrines of the Reformation. But his excitable passions led him astray to such an extent that he greatly endangered the very cause he had espoused. He talked much about "self-abandonment" and "the blessed loss in the One." Soon he became *lost* in the wildest vagaries. But Luther is in his little room in the Wartburg Castle, busy day and night in translating the Greek Testament into soul-stirring German. *Carlstadt* does not dream of it now, but that little book is destined to deal as heavy a blow to all his mystical extravagances as to papal superstitions. Meanwhile there arose a band of fanatics in the town of Zwickau, who declared that there was no necessity for the Bible. The Holy Spirit, say they, operates directly upon the heart; what is the use of a Bible if man can commune directly with God? The magistrates drive them from Zwickau. What must they do? In the emergency a happy thought occurs to them: *Carlstadt* is the man. The next we hear of them is in Wittenberg. *Carlstadt* joins hands with them, tells his students that their Greek, Latin, and Hebrew is useless study; inspiration is far better. Now what is to become of the infant Reformation? Its best friends think of Luther and write to him. He appears at once among the fanatics, blows away their inspiration at a puff, and the Zwickauers are glad enough to leave Wittenberg with their lives. Thus mysticism, though it had prepared the way for the Reformation, was poisonous to it in the battle-hour. But years after the death of Luther, when the Church was undergoing a process of petrification, it became once more a power on the side of truth.

After the Reformation we find the theosophic element of mysticism in the ascendancy—"a strange mixture of the Hellenic, the Oriental, and the Christian styles of thought." Cornelius Agrippa is the first great name we meet. His two works on *The Threefold way of Knowing God*, and on *The Vanity of the Arts and Sciences*, attracted universal attention, and placed him first among the theosophic Mystics. He traveled much, learned much, and perplexed

many. Paracelsus was likewise a prominent man in his day. His tastes lay nearly altogether in the direction of medicine. He abused the quackery of his day in the foulest language, and declared that there was more wisdom in his beard than in the heads of all the wise doctors of Europe. But we are impatient to make acquaintance with that old shoemaker theosophist, Jacob Behmen. History shows us but one such man; nowhere will we find an approach to him. There he sits in his shop at Görlitz, "that little man, apparently about forty years of age, of withered, almost mean aspect; with low forehead, prominent temples, hooked nose, short and scanty beard, and quick blue eyes; who talks with a thin, gentle voice." Behmen was a good Lutheran from his youth, but he deplored the formalism into which his Church had fallen. It grieved him to see more stress laid upon the Augsburg Confession than upon the Bible, and he despised the subtle disputes of his day. On one occasion, while meditating in his room, and almost overcome with melancholy, he fell into a trance. It commenced by the reflection of the sun on a tin vessel that was hanging to the wall. He was dazzled by it, and a panorama of gorgeous visions began to move before him. He tells all about them in his *Aurora*. This and his *Book on the Three Principles* were his chief works. What a curious style is Behmen's; but not strange when we see him at work:

"Behold him early in his study, with bolted door. The boy must see to the shop to-day; no sublunary cares of awl or leather, customers and groschen, must check the rushing flood of thought. The sunshine streams in—emblem, to his 'high-raised phantasy,' of a more glorious light. As he writes, the thin cheeks are flushed, the gray eye kindles, the whole frame is damp, and trembling with excitement. Sheet after sheet is covered. The headlong pen, too precipitate for caligraphy, for punctuation, for spelling, for syntax, dashes on. The lines which darken down the waiting page are, to the writer, furrows into which heaven is raining a driven shower of celestial seed. On the chapters thus fiercely written the eye of the modern student rests, cool and critical, wearily scanning paragraphs digressive as Juliet's nurse, and protesting with contracting eyebrow that this easy writing is abominably hard to read."

True, Behmen's fancy did run mad sometimes; but in that old shoemaker there was a soul brimfull of love. He hated corruption in every form. No less bitter was his animosity to a dead religion, and his self-imposed task was to make warm blood circulate once more through the Church. His was a peculiar way of work, but he did much for the vitality of Lutheranism. All the learned men of some lands have done less for humanity than Germany's two brothers in St. Crispin's art, Jacob Behmen, of Görlitz, and Hans Sach, of picturesque old Nüremburg, the minstrel of the Reformation.

Odd enough is the origin and history of the Rosicrucians. Never was a barrel of Bavarian beer in greater ferment than was all Ger-

many in their day. Their rise is almost incredible, ridiculous in the extreme. Good old Frau Andreä has given her boy Valentine as good an education as her limited means will allow, and now he is about leaving her to commence the travel which, at that age, was considered a necessary part of every young man's liberal education. She puts into his hand twelve kreutzer and a rusty old coin, as pocketpiece; and now her eyes follow him until they are blinded with tears. Years pass on, and Valentine, by dint of self-denial and perseverance, has succeeded in traveling over the most interesting portions of the continent. He returns to the fatherland and settles quietly down as a Lutheran pastor. He begins to see the evils of his times. He bethinks himself and wonders if he can cure them. He thinks he can; so he sits down and writes a little book. He calls it *The Discovery of the Brotherhood of the Honorable Order of the Holy Cross*, and dedicates it to all the great men of Europe. The book maintains that there had lived a certain Christian Rosenkreuz. He was a man of remarkable learning, and communicated his knowledge to eight disciples who lived with him in a house called the Temple of the Holy Ghost. This building has come to light, and behold the uncorrupted body of Rosenkreuz, who has been dead a hundred and twenty years! The various disciples whom he left, and who are scattered throughout Germany, claim to be true Protestants, and call upon all men to help them in their efforts to promote learning and religion. They possess great secrets, the world ought to know them. They are perfectly at home in bottling the elixir of life, and the philosopher's stone they have had long ago. Their great object is to benefit their fellow-creatures; who will follow them? Such was the burden of Valentine Andrea's little book. The consequence was, it set all Germany on fire. People never dreamed for a moment that it was a burlesque on the times. Thousands left their labor to follow the advice and demands of Andrea's maiden work. He wrote book after book, on seeing what mischief he had done, in denial of his account of Christian Rosenkreuz. But nobody believed him; they could not be deceived so badly as that. His first work was the only one they would receive. All the land ran mad after the fabulous knowledge of Rosenkreuz and his imaginary disciples. The world knows how long such infatuation lasted in Germany, and what evils it produced. Beyond doubt this was mysticism on its fastest horse.

In Spain we find mysticism under the control of the Church. Wherever it had appeared before, it was connected with free inquiry, and had been "a kind of escape for nature, . . . but now the Church, by means of the Confessor, made mysticism itself the innermost

dungeon of the prison-house; every emotion was methodically docked; every yearning of the heart minutely catalogued. The sighs must always ascend in the right place; the tears must trickle in the orthodox course." The name of St. Theresa is associated with the most ridiculous superstition and the wildest fanaticism. She was at first fond of the world, but finally became an Augustinian nun in Avila. In her forty-fourth year she was in a state of rapture, and from that time until her death was in an unbroken series of trances and visions. St. John of the Cross ends the catalogue of Romanist Mystics. His title he derived from his love of crosses. Self-denial seemed to be the business of his life; the hardest way with him was always the best. He left behind two works, *Obscure Night*, and the *Ascent of Carmel*; these, with his example, give him a high place on the Roman calendar.

It was under the brilliant reign of Louis XIV. that mysticism crossed the Pyrenees into France. It assumed the specific name of Quietism—"pure love," "holy indifference," when the soul is in the quiet contemplation of God. Of all connected with the Quietism of France, Madame Guyon is most distinguished. Possessed of extraordinary beauty and powers of conversation, she shone in society and attracted universal attention. Before she was sixteen she married a wealthy, but gouty and crabbed man, some twenty years her senior. As might have been expected, there was no sympathy between them in heart or mind; their life was consequently a succession of family jars. She was naturally of a contemplative turn of mind, and was subject in early life to seasons of the most excruciating melancholy. One of these lasted seven years, in which time her husband died. An old Franciscan monk told her that she was seeking without what she could only find within. "Accustom yourself," said he, "to seek God in your heart and you will find him." At the end of the seven years she emerged in light and happiness. But she does not revel in trances. Her mysticism takes an active turn, and she spends her powers in the useful field of beneficence. Her's is Quietism of heart, but not of body. But the Church does not authorize her labors, nor does she ask the Church for its seal of approval. Soon the sharpest arrows of wrath are leveled at her. Some call her a sorceress; others are more severe, and stigmatize her as a Protestant. Her teachings, however, became influential, and mysticism grew to be a Parisian fashion. But after a while her writings were condemned, and we find her on a sick bed at Meaux. The vain Bossuet took sides against her. The meek Fenelon was her friend, but that great book-war between these French divines terminated in her overthrow. After spending four years within the

gloomy walls of the Bastille, she went to the old city of Blois, where she died in 1717. Thus lived and passed away one of the most remarkable characters in all history, a woman of extraordinary powers and fervent piety, but subject to heartrending misfortunes. With the prophetic and oracular Madame de Krüdener ends the mysticism of France, noted for its zeal and devotion, but far inferior in thought and originality to that of Germany.

We must not expect to find much mysticism in England; she has had too much else to do. The only prominent name we meet with is George Fox, the father of the Quakers. He was thoughtful and shunned society. In later life he declared that at eleven years of age he knew pureness and righteousness. He carried a Bible in his pocket, and always sought the most sequestered spots to read it. He professed to have been in rapture, and he describes in his journal his experience while exalted into what we can call nothing more or less than a real Jacob Behmen ecstasy. He spent much of his life in visiting prisons and in the exercise of other charitable deeds. Mr. Vaughan pays no little compliment to him and his followers when he says, "the elements of Quakerism lie all complete in the personal history of Fox."

George Fox died at the close of the seventeenth century, and nearly fifty years passed by without witnessing any new development of mysticism in any land. But the wandering *ignis fatuus* was only hid behind a cloud. It was soon to blaze forth with tenfold brilliance in a different quarter. An anomaly in history no less than in the more circumscribed field of theology, is Emanuel Swedenborg, "the Olympian Jove of Mystics." We have seen that, hitherto, mysticism, has labored under two mistakes in reference to the Bible. One extreme was an ignoring of its necessity altogether, the other was a symbolizing and spiritualizing of it. But Swedenborg does not seem to labor under either error. He maintains the absolute necessity of a "book-revelation," and he professes to draw his doctrines from a literal interpretation of it. In another respect, too, he is far ahead of the older Mystics. He has not his ups and downs as they had, now basking in sunlight on a heaven-reaching mountain top, and now groping in a gloomy vale uncheered and unlighted by the smallest star. No, Swedenborg is not like them: "They have their alterations; their lights and shadows are in keeping; they will topple headlong from a sunny pinnacle into an abysmal misery. But Swedenborg is in the spirit for near two-score years, and in his easy chair, or at his window, or in his walks, holds converse, as a matter of course, with angels and departed great ones, with patriarchs and devils." The two works

containing his most important views are, *The Apocalypse Revealed*, and *A New Method of finding the Longitude*. His opinion on the atonement is sadly defective and dangerous. We cannot but be reminded of Mohammed's picture of Paradise when we read Swedenborg's description of heaven. We call to mind, too, Gabriel's communications to the Arabian prophet in what Swedenborg says of the Church of the New Jerusalem and of his own mission:

"Since the Lord cannot manifest himself in person to the world, which has just been shown to be impossible, and yet he has foretold that he would come and establish a new Church, which is the New Jerusalem, it follows that he will effect this by the instrumentality of a man, who is able not only to receive the doctrines of that Church in his understanding, but also to make them known by the press. That the Lord manifested himself before me his servant, that he sent me on this office, and afterward opened the sight of my spirit, and so let me into the spiritual world, permitting me to see the heavens and the hells, and also to converse with angels and spirits; and this now continually, for many years, I attest in truth; and further, that from the first day of my call to this office, I have never received anything appertaining to the doctrines of that Church from any angel, but from the Lord alone, while I was reading the Word."

The mysticism of Louis Claude de Saint Martin, *le philosophe inconnu*, was an oasis in the infidelity of the land and times. His best productions were, *Le Ministre de l'Home-esprit*, *L'Homme de Desir* and *L'Esprit des Choses*. In these works there is much that is evangelical and tangible, though it cannot be denied that in Saint Martin's cosmological and psychological views there is a very perceptible vein of pantheism. He did great service in the cause of truth, however, and deservedly occupies one of the most honorable niches in the temple of modern mysticism.

Here we must take our leave of the mystic magnates, a people with whom there are many points of sympathy, especially when we remember the dark days in which the most of them lived. Their casket of thoughts and fancies glitters with many a gem of truth, and their imagination did far more violence to the intellect than to the heart. As far as our country is concerned we have never had, until recently, any manifestation of mysticism. Spiritualism can justly be termed one of its numerous developments, and nowhere would we go for an apter illustration of a theurgic mystic than to a medium of the Judge Edmonds school. The vagaries of Mrs. Cora Hatch are more disgraceful to our age than were the wildest visions of the Spanish Mystics to the sixteenth century. But she has acquired a lofty position among the spiritualist leaders, and after death has silenced her oracles, she may justly be canonized the St. Theresa of American mysticism. As for Mormonism, it is too much honor to apply to it the bare name of delusion. It possesses no marks in common with the most extravagant illuminism, save self-

deception; and a stranger to our sphere would hardly be able to believe that Jacob Behmen and Joe Smith had inhabited the same planet. Mormonism is a sewer for the bad passions, blasted reputations, and broken fortunes of the vile. Yet, judging by the fruit, we must call it the twin sister of spiritualism. Heaven hasten the day of their death and burial!

We would have wished that Mr. Vaughan had shown somewhere in his masterly work the amount of truth in the higher forms of mysticism. At this there are hints, and but little more; because, no doubt, he felt his province to be historical rather than doctrinal and didactic. But the Christian student will naturally inquire, after closing this romantic *contribution to the history of religious opinion*, How much truth is there after all in the quietism of the best Mystics? Can it be that Behmen, Madame Guyon, and George Fox were altogether deluded by their fancy? Is there not a stratum of scriptural truth underlying all this luxuriance of theory. We firmly believe there is, though men are accustomed to consider mysticism and madness synonymous. The Scriptures claim for man a higher attainable state than of being in the paradoxical condition of sin and righteousness at the same time. This elevated state is the focal point of all biblical doctrine, the essence of an intimate union with God. John Wesley termed it *perfection*, not for the want of a more Scriptural but of a more unexceptionable word. In his own day he witnessed some gross perversions of the term; and in his writings he expresses forebodings here and there lest it might be still more misapprehended when it was no longer possible for him to define its limits. More than a century has passed by, which time is long enough for the world to test a doctrine, and the Church that dates its organization from his judicious mind and earnest heart has found no reason to expunge that doctrine from its creed. Nay, Methodism as firmly maintains it now as eighty years ago, despite the thrusts of her avowed foes, and the still more dangerous ones of her own household. This truth is what the noblest Mystics sought. Their error lay in part in *the way they sought it*, for many relied too much upon the untrusty utterances of philosophy, and too little upon the purer teachings of the word of God. Others did not fail here, but their professedly intimate union with God exercised the passive to the neglect of the active virtues. The Bible was to them a book rather teaching how to suffer and be calm than to labor zealously and fight courageously in the struggle for salvation; prescribing a state of holy quiet, but not inciting to vigorous action; filling the heart with unutterable joy, but leaving the body in seclusion and lethargy. This we conceive to be the grand mistake of the

Coryphei of mysticism. Madame Guyon approached nearest the truth, but no one reached it. Sadly enough do they all illustrate Adam's confession to Raphael:

"But apt the mind or fancy is to rove
Unchecked, and of her roving is no end,
Till warned, or by experience taught, she learn
That, not to know at large of things remote
From use, obscure and subtle; but to know
That which lies before us in daily life
Is the prime wisdom. What is more is fume,
Or emptiness, or fond impertinence;
And renders us, in things that most concern,
Unpracticed, unprepared, and still to seek."

In the study of *Hours with the Mystics* we have discovered no parade of research and learning. The author's unobtrusive nature, and the dialogue form he adopted, could alike preclude the possibility of such a misfortune. The gem-seeker shows you his treasure, but tells you nothing of his previous toil. Lest he might lose something of value, Mr. Vaughan studied, in addition to the Greek and Latin of classical times, the French, Dutch, German, Alexandrian Greek, Mediæval Latin, old German, and Provençal French. So greatly was Dr. Tholuck surprised at his familiarity with the old German, that he affirmed in a letter that there were not more than one or two scholars even in his own country who could boast so great an acquaintance with their own mother German. From such a quarry did he get his marble; but with it he has built a superstructure so firm, harmonious, and stately, that an English admirer compares it, not very unsuitably, to a Gothic Cathedral.

ART. VII.—THE CHURCH RELATION OF INFANTS.

IN a former article we spoke of the "moral condition of infants;" in the present we propose to speak of their "Church relation." The object of the former article was to show what was the state of our common humanity, by virtue of the atonement, prior to any responsible act of the creature; the object of the present article is, to show what is the condition in which our human nature should be placed, according to the prospective designs of redemption, in order that its responsible action may be suitable to the will of God, and that the grace of childhood may be rendered effectual to the early and continued salvation of the child. What we are before responsible action,

by the unconditional benefits of grace, is one thing; but what are the possibilities of our nature by the efficacy of that same grace, under appointed instrumentalities, through all the developed grades of moral action, is quite a distinct question.

We propose to discuss the present subject under the following heads: I. The nature and force of the Church relation of children. II. The method by which the spiritual blessings of this relation become available to the child. III. The efficacy of an early and faithful use of the appointed means for the salvation of childhood.

I. 1. A perpetual cause of stumbling to the faith of the Church is, that the *nature and force of the Church relation of infants* are not clearly comprehended. Children are related to the Church spiritually, really, vitally. It is no figure of speech, but a first truth in the divine economy. When our Lord said that "of such is the kingdom of heaven," he affirmed a spiritual relation. He did not predicate their membership in his kingdom of the simple fact of their baptism or their circumcision, but of their being redeemed children. Their relation to the "kingdom" arose from their relation to the King, and it applied to all children as such. Baptism is only the sign and seal of membership; the spiritual relation, which is the real one, precedes the emblematic and the conventional, and is the moral ground of the latter.

So also when our Lord says, "Whoso receiveth one such little child in my name receiveth me," (Matt. xviii, 5,) he completely identifies little children with himself and his spiritual family, the true Church. In Mark ix, 41, the phrase, "*in my name*," is explained to mean, "*because ye belong to me*." This is decisive of the sense. On no other ground could they be "received in Christ's name." And this he affirms of little children, such as one could hold in his arms, as Christ then held that little one. (Compare Matt. xviii, 2, etc., with Mark ix, 36.) Now, this "*receiving*" one in Christ's name is an act of Church fellowship, a recognition of true discipleship, and draws after it an acknowledgment of all the duties arising out of that admitted relation. Here is no hyperbole, no exaggeration, no strong language that needs to be pared down and qualified till it suits the sentiments of a remiss or a godless Church; but a literal and glorious declaration of the Head of the Church, a command to now recognize them as legitimate members of the spiritual commonwealth. It is an instruction officially delivered to the apostles, to be transmitted to the Church through all ages; and for the fulfillment of the same both Church members and officers will render an account to the Master. Of the same import is the

official instruction and command: "Suffer little children and forbid them not to come to me." The quibbling of Tertullian, that they must wait till they are grown up in order to "*come*," is unworthy a Christian minister. These children were of an age too tender to come to Christ from personal conviction. They were "*brought*" to him, and the command to the apostles and to the Church to "suffer them to come," is a command to "*bring*" them. It is a duty now, as then, and will remain a duty while there are children and a Church of Christ upon the earth. And this duty of "*bringing*" them to Christ, and of "*receiving*" them "in his name," is a duty to do for them all that their age and wants demand, in order to their earliest knowledge of Christ, and their continued enjoyment of the spiritual blessings of his Church.

2. When the apostle says to the believing husband, or wife, that the two are sanctified to each other, so that, although one of them does not believe, yet they are to live together under the sanction of Christian law, and not separate, as the Mosaic law would oblige them if one were a heathen, he offers this fact, publicly known in the Church, as proof that the Christian law sanctions the union, namely, "*else were your children UNCLEAN, but now they are HOLY.*" (1 Cor. vii, 14.) Here *holiness* is affirmed of the children, but it is affirmed on the ground of the faith of one of the parents, and therefore is not a moral holiness, but simply an ecclesiastical, or ceremonial one. As if the apostle had said: "Else were your children [reckoned as] *ακοθαρτα*, heathen, but now are they [counted as] *αγια*, saints, or members of the Christian community." The children, says Tertullian, were *designed for holiness (sanctitati designati)* by baptism. "Every soul," he adds, "is reckoned in Adam, till it be anew enrolled in Christ, and so long *unclean* till it be enrolled." "Their children," says Bishop Burnet, "were not *unclean*; that is, *not shut out from being dedicated to God.*" This baptismal holiness, this external admission to membership in the Christian family, is only a conventional recognition of a spiritual and pre-existent relation to Christ, a relation directly created by Christ.

3. The design and purpose of God in the constitution of the Christian Church is, as Paul states it in Eph. i, 10, "that he might gather together in one [body, or community] all things in Christ." The apostle here does not intend inanimate "*things*," as the neuter gender of the pronoun *τα παντα* might seem to indicate. "The neuter is sometimes found," says Winer, "where *persons* are signified, when the writer would express his meaning in a general way." It is not of *things*, but of redeemed *human beings*, that Paul is speaking. And he is speaking of a particular class of these human beings,

namely, *τα παντα εν τω χριστω*, *the all* [who are] *IN CHRIST*." These, says the apostle, it is the "mysterious will and good pleasure of God, which he hath purposed in himself," *ανακεφαλαιωσασθαι*, *to bring together under one head*. This "head" is Christ, and all who are "in Christ" are to be brought together in one family, and comprehended under this one headship. This is the design of the Christian Church. All who are in Christ have a real and spiritual connection with his body, which is the Church. "Christ is head over all to the Church, which is his body." Eph. i, 22. "Christ is the head, from whom the whole body, fitly joined together, . . . maketh increase," etc. Eph. iv, 15, 16. "Christ is the head of the Church. . . . The Church is subject to Christ." Eph. v, 23, 24. "Christ is the head of the body, the Church." Col. i, 18. "Of whom [Christ] the whole family in heaven and earth is named." Eph. iii, 15. That is, saints in heaven and saints in earth. "Christ as a son over his own house [household] whose house [household] are we." Heb. iii, 6. "The house [household] of God, which is the Church of the living God." 1 Tim. iii, 15. This doctrine runs through all the New Testament. Those who are Christ's in a spiritual sense, saved by his merit, are of his "body," his "Church," his "family," his "household." They are comprehended under one headship. When Paul would describe the definite limit and number of "the general assembly and church of the first born;" that is, the New Testament Church, he simply says, "*whose names are enrolled in heaven*." Heb. xii, 23. And this enrollment of names in heaven is the registration of names in the "book of life," the true family register, the final test and proof of a fitness and title to heaven. "And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into a lake of fire." Rev. xx, 15. This "book of life" is "the Lamb's book of life," Rev. xxi, 27; "the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." Rev. xiii, 8. It is Christ's register of all who are spiritually his.

So then we must erase children from the "book of life," from their "enrollment in heaven," before we can sever their spiritual and real connection with the body of Christ, his family, his household, his Church. The idea that the Church is made up only of believers, is as rational and scriptural as that a family, or commonwealth, is made up only of adults. It is not the personal act of faith apart and by itself that is to be considered, but the spiritual relation to Christ. If an infant without faith can belong to Christ, who is the head, an infant without faith can belong to the Church, which is the body, or community comprehended and brought together under that head.

4. As to *denominational Church life*, we need only say, that all

creeds, symbols of faith, forms of church government, or special covenant obligations, such as denominational branches of the Catholic Church may adopt, are only their views of Scripture doctrine and duty, and are applied only as prudential tests of fitness for adult membership. They are only so many methods of arriving at the knowledge of that essential fitness for membership which is required of responsible beings as such, and which children enjoy by the unconditional benefits of the atonement, and on the authority of the declaration of Christ. These denominational tests do not have the effect to admit the person to a new Church, different from that to which the baptized child belongs; but only to supply an adequate test of adult membership in the old Church, the Catholic, New Testament, Abrahamic Church; such test becomes requisite only upon a new condition of the candidate, namely, a responsible condition. It is a provisional guard upon the purity of the Church in relation to all who are of mature age. The fitness and Church rights of the child, during childhood, are determined on other grounds. But in either case the Church is the same. If denominational ecclesiasticism assumes a higher ground than this, it does so by usurpation. We have space only to state the doctrine, not to adduce the proof. Children have a real connection with, and valid right to, the real and only living Church of God.

II. We come now to speak of the method by which the Church relation becomes available to the child for those spiritual ends for which it was ordained. The Church relation is ordained as a means or instrumentality of effecting the gracious ends of redeeming love toward responsible beings. With the Church corporately is vested those divinely instituted means by which the life of God is nourished and promoted in the soul, and his kingdom extended in the earth. The life and growth are directly the gift of God, but the instrumental or secondary causes rest with the Church. Here is her responsibility, corporately and severally; like the living organs of the body, her members are to supply those offices upon which nourishment, growth, and extension secondarily depend.

There are two stages of Church life, according to the original plan and purpose of God: the first is realized in the family, the family as in covenant with God, and comprehended in the Church as an integral primal Church agency; the second stage is that Church life that is assumed upon personal conviction and responsibility. The first is the period of minority, wherein the member is the recipient merely, enjoying the benefits of Church guardianship, instruction, and influences, and is simply preparatory; the second is the period of majority, or full age, in which not only the immunities of Church are

enjoyed, but its responsibilities borne; wherein the member is not a recipient merely, but an actor. The first is the period of nursery life, the second the period of fruit bearing, as well as nurture. In the natural life, and also the civil life of each man, the same twofold aspect appears. It is the order of nature, of reason, and of grace. The child has a civil life, civil rights and immunities, before he is of full age, before he comes to the full powers of citizenship. He was a citizen before, but the sphere of his citizenship is now extended and perfected.

As we are speaking only of children in this article, we shall consequently speak only of this first stage of Church life, the minority or nursery stage. Our position is that *the Church relation becomes available to the child first through the agency of the parent, the parent as in covenant with God; and secondly, through the instrumentality of Church offices and ordinances, but all during the family life of the child.*

1. Historically, the first period of the visible Church was its patriarchal or family period. The "covenant," which is the form and charter of the Church, was with a family as such, and recognized the family relations. This was not accidental and temporary, but fundamental and perpetual. "I will establish my covenant between ME and THEE and THY SEED after thee . . . to be a God unto THEE and to THY SEED after thee." Gen. xvii, 7. "The promise is unto YOU and to YOUR CHILDREN." Acts ii, 39. The covenant, as Maurice well says, is "with a man *expressly and emphatically as the head of a family.*" Remove the relations of parent and child, and you render nugatory the whole tenor, conditions, and design of the covenant. It was in the faithful fulfillment of the duties of the family relation that the promise of the covenant fell due. "For I know Abraham, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment, THAT THE LORD MAY BRING UPON ABRAHAM THAT WHICH HE HATH SPOKEN OF HIM." Gen. xviii, 19. When, in later days, the Church under Moses emerged from its patriarchal to its national character, the family was still recognized and brought out as the true normal element of Church power. Parents and children are addressed as such, and duties laid on them which, while they were of a distinctively Church character, could be performed only within the family relations. In the New Testament the national idea of a Church is dropped, but its public, corporate, and primitive covenant character retained; yet the family is clearly brought out as the true germinal state of the Church, the primitive nursery life of its members. These statements will receive further confirmation in the progress of our argument.

2. The proof of our position will further appear if we take into view *the religious design of the family constitution*. This is stated by Malachi, chap. ii, 15. Speaking of husband and wife, and of the religious ends of the family relation as originally constituted, he says: "And did not he [God] make ONE? Yet had he the residue of the spirit. And wherefore one? THAT HE MIGHT SEEK A GODLY SEED." Bear in mind that the prophet is speaking of the original constitution of the family headship by the Creator, and he directly affirms that the design of God in this ordainment was religious, and this religious end was to be realized in the children of the united pair, *that he might seek זרע אלהים a seed of God.*" God might have made myriads of human beings to people the earth, each a responsible agent, as he made the angels, the consequences of whose good or evil conduct should terminate on himself, but he did not. He who "breathed" into Adam "the breath of life," still possessed the undiminished energy of the creative and life-giving spirit, but he did not at once people the earth with adult beings. This would have precluded the grand scheme of a RACE of beings whose life, and sympathies, and dependencies, and obligations should be blended into UNITY, and made the strong guards and guarantees of religion. It would have precluded the idea of FAMILY. He might have made a plurality of "help-meets" or companions for the first man, but this would have weakened the social bond and sympathy of the family, opened the door of discord, shattered parental authority, and defeated the grand religious end. All history shows that polygamy leads to this result. The "residue" of the spirit was with him, but his prolific energy was restrained, and the Creator, excluding all other schemes of human society, shut himself up to this, not from a physical but a moral reason. Religion, godliness, explains the end and reason of the Creator's plan of family. Its sympathies are more open to religion, and when its relations and affections are sanctified it is more powerfully concentrative of holy influences. It is thus that the Creator has *carefully sought out* a godly seed, as when one *seeks by feeling after the object*; so the word חָפַץ, denotes, *to search by feeling out*. Here is forethought and design in the Creator, and as the prophet is speaking expressly upon the subject of the moral reason of the family constitution, we take the passage as decisive of the case. How perfectly harmonious is this original design with the subsequent Church covenant established in the family of Abraham.

3. The whole tenor of law bearing on the family relations, both in the old and New Testaments, proves that the family is a distinct

and normal agency in the Church for the early culture and confirmation of piety. In the decalogue God conditions the perpetuity of the Hebrew nation upon the religious order of the family. "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." The word כבוד, *honor*, denotes the acknowledgment of the relation and authority of the parent, and the rendering due reverence and obedience to the same. But this can never be without a religious recognition. The parent is supposed to be under the law of God, and his most emphatic investiture of authority relates to the duties and obligations of family religion. The promise annexed is a covenant promise—a promise never carried outside of the covenant relation. Paul, quoting this law, says, "it is the first commandment with *promise*." A speciality attaches to this circumstance. In the recapitulations of the essential laws of morality and religion by Moses and by Christ, this law of the family is repeated. Deut. v, 16; Matt. xix, 19. How prominently the religious authority and duty of the parent stand out in the Divine law! "Tell in the ears of thy sons, and thy son's sons, what things I have wrought in Egypt." "Teach them thy sons, and thy son's sons, specially the day that thou stoodest before the Lord thy God in Horeb." "And these words which I command thee this day shall be in thy heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children." "For the Lord established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children, *that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments, and might not be as their fathers, a stubborn and rebellious generation; a generation that set not their heart aright, and whose spirit was not steadfast with God.*"

This last passage from Psal. lxxviii, 2-8, is of great importance. It is an inspired exposition of the religious ends of that "testimony" and "law" in Israel which required the parent to instruct the child, and proves incontestably that this parental law was a Church provision; both parties, parent and child, being in covenant with God. Correlating with this is the long line of precepts to children, which we have not space here to enumerate. But the point of the argument lies here: as the authority of the parent is a divine investiture for religious ends, and charged with religious duties, the "HONOR" due the parent is reverence for that authority *as religious*; obedience to the ends for which it was conferred. The apostle, in his rapid generalization of family duties, brings out this salient

point of the divine scheme. "Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. Honor thy father and mother, which is the first commandment with promise." And again he says: "Children, obey your parents in all things, for this is well pleasing unto the Lord." "Fathers . . . bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" in the instruction and discipline of the Lord, says Doddridge. Here are three points to be especially noticed: 1. The source and limitation of the authority of the parent. This is denoted by the genitive, *κυριον*, "*of the Lord*;" "bring them up in the instruction and discipline *of the Lord*." "The genitive *κυριον*," says Olshausen, "is to be explained by the circumstance that both discipline and exhortation are conceived as proceeding from Christ himself." 2. The limit and end of filial obligation. This is denoted by the dative *εν κυριον* "*in the Lord*." "Children, obey your parents *in the Lord*." The dative, as denoting *rest in a place*, implies that both parties addressed, both parents and children, are supposed to be "*in the Lord*;" that is, saints, Christians, in mutual Church relations; and that this spiritual relation modifies and bounds the obligations of both parties. 3. Observe the sanctions appended to these commands. "For this *right*," says Paul; that is, right according to the evangelical standard. Again he says: "For this is *well pleasing unto the Lord*." Col. iii, 20. Now, here are sanctions or motives which are appreciable and relevant to those only who are "*in the Lord*." They belong to no other class. The whole instruction falls completely and only within the purview of Church relation, by the very terms of the precepts; and when we consider that they are the words of the apostle officially addressed to the Church, the argument becomes complete.

A second stage of the Church life of children is marked in Scripture by two circumstances; the teaching them by public *ordinances* after they have attained sufficient age to ask, "*What mean you by this service?*" and their instruction by *Church officers*. The first is brought to view in such passages as this: "And when thy son *asketh* thee in time to come, *What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments which the Lord our God hath commanded you?* then thou shalt say unto thy son," etc. Deut. vi, 20-25. Also, with specific reference to the passover, Exod. xii, 26: "And when your children say unto you, *What mean you by this service?* that ye shall say," etc. Also, in reference to the redemption of the "first born," the monuments at Gilgal, the bitter herbs at passover, etc., Exod. xiii, 7, 8; Num. iii, 11-13; Josh. iv, 4-7, 21. The second is brought to view in the numerous instances of public teachers, prophets, and apostles addressing themselves to children,

and of our Saviour's instruction to the apostles touching this matter, which our space forbids us to dilate.

It was in pursuance of these ordained methods of religious instruction and discipline that the Hebrews admitted their children to the public participation of the ordinances after they had sufficiently learned their import and history. They were instructed in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, and if they showed an appreciative mind, were admitted to the passover, the great national and religious test of a true Israelite, at the age of twelve or thirteen years. At twelve years old our Lord attended the passover with his parents, and joined in the solemn temple service." "When a Jewish boy," says Mr. Frey, "has arrived at the age of *thirteen years and a day*, he is considered a *man*, fit to be one of the *ten* necessary to constitute a full number for public worship." Under the Christian system the same general laws should obtain, always guarding the point of the proper evidences of personal piety. When the child has been properly instructed, can appreciate the great idea of the Christian passover, and gives evidence of sincere faith in the Saviour and obedience to his commands, he should be admitted to the full participation of public ordinances. All early instruction should have this in view. The admission of the Jewish child to the passover and temple-worship was an epoch in its life, anticipated with devout longing of soul. So should our children learn to reverence the house of God, and to aspire to the feasts of Jerusalem, "whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimonies of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord."

III. We proceed now to speak of the efficacy of an early and faithful use of the appointed means for the salvation of responsible childhood. Responsibility is a plant of slow growth, and is susceptible of advancement or retardation almost indefinitely. It is the joint product of the growth of the moral and intellective powers, and its earliest manifestation is always in the least perceptible degree. It should be the first object of all instruction and discipline to develop in the child a just sense of accountability to God, and to parents as the divinely appointed sponsors and guardians of the juvenile mind. In the process of our discussion under this head we shall recognize the following principles:

First. The unconditional grace of the atonement bestowed upon infancy remains in force until the child comes under a new condition of moral life, the condition of responsibility.

Secondly. The law of responsibility in the creature, in so far as it obtains, modifies the divine administration: the bestowment or

continuance of saving grace in such a case, and all measures of increase of such grace, being secured thereafter only by a right exercise of the responsible powers.

Thirdly. There is no stage of human responsibility in which a state of present salvation and acceptance with God may not be actually possessed, and the realization of this state by the child (where it does exist) will be in proportion to its intelligent consciousness and right instruction.

1. Ever precious is the example of Christ in its bearing on the salvation of childhood. "Christ took upon him our nature," says Bishop Taylor, "to sanctify and save it, and passed through the several periods of it, even unto death; and therefore it is certain that he did sanctify all the periods of life. Why should he be an infant, but that infants should receive the crown of their age, the purification of their stained nature, the sanctification of their persons, and the saving of their souls by their infant Lord and their elder brother?" This argument is not fanciful. If the holy life of the *man* Jesus shows us how *men* should live, the holy childhood of the *child* Jesus equally illustrates the possible attainments of *children*. Jesus was a perfect child before he became a perfect man. Is there no moral significance in his childhood? It is said of him, at and after the tender age of forty days: "And the child *grew and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was upon him.*" Luke ii, 40. At twelve years old he says to his parents, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" From and after this age it is said of him, "he was *subject to his parents,*" and Jesus "*increased in wisdom and in stature, and in favor with God and man.*" Luke ii, 51, 52. His human character was progressive, yet perfect in every stage. "This," says Olshausen, "is precisely the idea of the Messiah in his human development, that he presents each stage of life pure and unsullied by sin; yet so as never to obliterate the character of the stage itself. He was completely a child, completely a youth, completely a man; and thus hallowed all the stages of human development."

2. How perfectly consonant to this is the language of Scripture in regard to Samuel. When his mother had weaned him, "she brought him unto the house of the Lord, *and the child was young,*" and Samuel "*worshiped the Lord there.*" "And the child *Samuel grew before the Lord.*" "And Samuel *grew on, and was in favor both with the Lord, and also with men.*" "And Samuel *grew, and the Lord was with him.*" Now, what do all these reiterated statements of infantile and growing piety mean? Paul dates

Timothy's saving knowledge from the time he was *βρεφος*, an infant, a young child, 2 Tim. iii, 15. Isaiah was called of the Lord "from the womb;" and God says to Jeremiah: "Before thou wast born I sanctified thee." John the Baptist was "filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb." Such early and effectual grace, however, always supposed and comprehended a faithful instrumentality. The Hebrew Church law is fairly laid down by Isaiah, touching the period for commencing effective and earnest training of children. "Whom shall he teach knowledge? and whom shall he make to understand doctrine? *They that are weaned from the milk and drawn from the breasts.*" Isa. xxviii, 2. The time of weaning among the Hebrews was at three years of age. Thus early did religious training take effect and bring forth fruit. And how else can that ancient prophecy receive its fulfillment? "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength [established praise] that thou mightest still [restrain, cause to desist] the enemy and the avenger." Psa. viii, 2. The spiritual, evangelical, and literal character of this prophecy is established beyond a doubt by our Lord's application of it. Matt. xxi, 15, 16: "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise." The praises of God are to be established upon the lips of childhood, and this is to be, in Gospel times, a power to silence, and confound, and disarm infidelity. The children in the temple who cried "Hosanna," were children of the Levites between the ages of five and twelve years. Innumerable instances of piety, dating back in the twilight of childhood, and developing by a gentle progress with the growth of years, might be cited from the records of authentic biography, but our space forbids.

3. But this same truth is taught by all those precepts which require of the parent the early and continued training of the child. Take, for example, Eph. vi, 4: "Ye parents, bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." The question is, At what age of the child does this parental duty take effect? When is the parent to begin? Answer this question, and we will tell at what age instruction may make the child "wise unto salvation." At the moment this precept becomes a binding obligation on the parent, at that moment the provisions of grace are sufficient to make the fulfillment of this duty effectual to the salvation of the child. And so of each successive moment up to mature years. Now, this command to "bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," is a command to begin with them at the earliest moment that they are susceptible of this *παιδεία καὶ νομοθεσία κυρίου*, training and instruction of the Lord, and to continue it thereafter without intermission.

The word *εκτρέφετε*, *bring them up, train them up, educate, nourish them*, as a precept covers all the period of childhood, or minority, not exempting one day or hour. Its sense is more fully brought out in its Septuagint use, and the corresponding Hebrew word גָּדַל, *gadal*, *to grow, nourish, bring up*. We offer this simply as an illustration of the entire code of precepts, both in the Old and New Testaments, covering this branch of parental duty. And so we would understand Prov. xxii, 6: "*Train, initiate, dedicate a child at the entrance of his path.*" The obligation of the command, "Thou shalt teach thy children diligently," etc., dates at the earliest susceptibility of instruction in the child, and terminates only at the point where the mature responsibility of the child supersedes parental control; and through all the intermediate points of this period this instruction is appointed as the instrument of saving grace to the child.

4. The child does not grow up religious by a law of natural development. The elements of religion are not in his nature, needing only education, and right social influences, to bring them forth to ripeness. Religious instruction and discipline do not rest upon the aptitudes of nature for their promise of success, but upon grace antecedently bestowed. Prevenient grace is a fundamental truth, never to be set aside as a condition of successful instrumentality either in the adult or child. In the child, prior to accountability, all prevenient grace is saving grace; in the adult, prior to regeneration, it is assisting grace. This saving grace in the child, as in the adult, never increases but by use, and use implies accountability. It is like the life of a seed as distinguished from the life of a plant. The enveloped life of the unplanted seed retains only its normal condition, but the developed life of the planted seed expands through new and beautiful and progressive forms of existence. "The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed which a man took and sowed in his field." Mark the two points of the analogy: 1. A "seed," possessing a *principle of life*; 2. A genial *condition*, "which a man took and sowed in his field." The similitude would utterly fail if this latter circumstance were wanting. It is not the "*seed*" merely, but the seed "*sown*," the seed brought into congenial contact with external nature, suited to its germination and growth, which illustrates the life, growth, and perfection of the kingdom of God. "For so is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knew not how. For the earth bringeth forth of herself, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." Beautiful similitude! "I have PLANTED, Apollos WATERED, but God gave the INCREASE." Chang-

ing the conditions of the metaphor somewhat, Peter says: "As new born babes desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby." If the grace of infancy never comes forth to maturity, let the Church and the parent, to whom belong the planting, the watering, and the pruning, well consider it. God gives no "increase" but according to established laws. "They that are planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God." The one talent never increased, because never used.

5. On the metaphysics, or mere abstract possibilities of the question, whether a child can grow up in a regenerate state, without ever forfeiting its infantile state of grace, we have not hitherto proposed to enter, considering that form of the question more curious than practical. Standing on the immutable declaration of Christ, we say: "Except, *τις*, any person be born again—born, *ἐξ πνεύματος*, by the Spirit—he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And standing on the ground laid down in this argument, everywhere recognized in Scripture, we say that this grace denoted by regeneration is available to our humanity at every period of its existence. Nay more, if any one period of our life is more susceptible of grace than another, it is that of childhood; and if the faithful use of religious instrumentality has greater promise of success at one period than another, it is that of our earlier consciousness. The child may sin and repent without any greater forfeiture of its antecedent, unconditional justification, than the adult believer incurs who is "overtaken with a fault" and is "restored." Sin and grace in such instances are both in proportion only to the moral development of the child. The parent, in laying down the obligation of repentance to the child, is not required to go back of its personal consciousness. It should, indeed, be taught to confess the sinfulness of its nature, like David, who, says Calvin, "commences the confession of his depravity at the time of his conception." *Psa. li, 5.* It should so confess, because this fallen nature is the perpetual occasion of departing from God, and in itself offensive to his holiness, and in yielding to it we seem to adopt and approve it, and thus make it, in a sense, our personal offense. Yet the Christian life and warfare may be successfully carried on, and a state of favor, and increasing favor with God, maintained through all the stages of childhood.

6. In conclusion of this brief article, we go back and plant our feet upon the last projecting verge of prophetic utterance in the Old Testament, and endeavor, with Malachi, to lift the warning voice against the remissness of the Church in regard to family religion. "Behold," says God, "I send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord; and he shall turn

the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse. Does this prophecy look forward to the restoration of the primitive, religious order of the family? No other construction is easy, natural, and consonant to all the connecting facts. To give the particle *לְ*, translated "*to*," the sense of *with*, and read it, "the hearts of the fathers *with* their children," as indicating that whole families, fathers and children together, were to be turned, is a possible sense, and would imply the order of family religion. But this gives not the force of the passage. It is well enough translated in the common English; or, perhaps, we should take its more radical sense of *down upon*, as we find it in 2 Kings xiv, 1: "The king's heart was *upon* Absalom." This setting "the heart of the father *upon* the child, and the heart of the child *upon* the father," with reference to religious ends and religious duties; this turning family affections and interests into their proper channel, and making them subservient to their original ends, namely, to secure "a godly seed;" this is the point of the prophet's utterance. Church reformation begins with family reformation. "Every man should build over against his own house." The religious claims of the children must first be looked after. This prophecy is of such marked significance that it is quoted in the Apocrypha, (Eccl. xlviii, 10,) where the "turning of the father to the son" is the means of averting divine judgments, and "restoring the tribes of Israel;" and is also repeated as the first prophetic announcement of the New Testament. Luke i, 17. The awful import of these words rolled their solemn reverberations through the fallen Jewish Church, who, by their human traditions, had unsettled the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, and thus "made void the law of God;" and they reach down to us, and will forever stand like a beacon fire on the walls of a godless Church and family. "That thy days may be long in the land," is the blessing promised; "Lest I smite the land with a curse," is the malediction threatened. Let the Church see to it.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—THE REVIVAL MOVEMENTS have continued also during the last three months in England, Ireland, and, though to a lesser extent, in Scotland. From England, in particular, it is reported that there is scarcely a town where special prayer-meetings are not held for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Yet fewer reports of special interest have been received, and the physical manifestations, which at first drew so much attention, have been diminished. The demand for publications on the revival of religion is very great, and "*The Revival*," a four paged quarto, giving news of the progress of the awakening in the United Kingdom, has a circulation of not less than twenty-five thousand weekly. An interesting discussion on the revivals took place at the last London quarterly meeting of the Unitarians, almost all the speakers regarding them as being brought about by the direct and immediate agency of the Holy Spirit of God. THE SPECIAL SERVICES FOR THE WORKING CLASSES are again held in a number of larger churches, and in order to reach these classes better, a committee of gentlemen—Churchmen and Dissenters—decided on hiring from the lessees several of the low theaters in the more densely populated portions of London for Sunday evening services. The experiment, commenced on December 18, has been, so far, quite successful. A case of high importance, concerning the RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE, is still pending before the law courts of Scotland. On the appeal of Mr. Miller, the minister of Cardross, who had been deposed by the General Assembly of the Free Church for attempting to interpose the civil courts between him and discipline, the judges called on the assembly to produce in court the constitution of their Church, on which they claimed the right to depose him. This the Church refused to do, denying the jurisdiction of the court. On December 23 the court unanimously repelled the preliminary defenses for the Free Church, ordaining them to satisfy the production, and finding them liable in the expenses of process since the preliminary defenses were lodged. On January 18 a special

meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly of the Free Church was convened, to consider the steps to be taken in consequence of the decision of the court. The report recommended to satisfy production in terms of the order of the Court of Session, the Church always being prepared to resist any attempt of the court to make use of this act for reviewing the ecclesiastical procedure, connected with the sentence produced. This resolution was unanimously adopted. In England, it is especially the Church Rates question which continues to agitate the public mind with regard to the relation between Church and State. The Church Defense Association held recently a great meeting at Bath, where one of the speakers pronounced upon "the utter inefficiency of the voluntary principle wherever it had been tried," while another expressed the belief that the Wesleyan Methodists would not join in the movement for the abolition of the Church Rate. At a private meeting of the Episcopal bench, recently held in compliance with an earnest invitation from the Primate, it was unanimously resolved to oppose any change. Among other questions agitated in the Church of England we mention only the MOVEMENT AGAINST THE ALTERATION OF THE LITURGY, as proposed by Lord Ebury. A circular signed by Dr. Trench, Dr. Jelf, and others, has been distributed among the clergy with a view of calling forth an explicit declaration of their opinion on this question. THE WESLEYAN METHODISTS of England and Ireland differ in their opinion on the education question. Both bodies have formerly been opposed to the Irish National Board of Education. But at the last Irish Conference, in June 1859, a majority decided that the Wesleyan schools might be placed under the control of the commissioners, while the committee to which the English Conference, in Manchester, had referred this question, adopted, at its meeting in November, a resolution affirmative of the former principles of the Methodists on the subject.

The Roman Catholic Church.—MEETINGS IN FAVOR OF THE POPE and the preservation of his temporal sovereignty, have been held all over Ireland and in

many towns in England. But it has been observed that the participation in them has been neither so general, nor so enthusiastic as was expected, and that several Roman Catholics of influence declared themselves opposed to these demonstrations. THE PRESENT STATISTICS of the Roman Church in England and Scotland are stated by the London Catholic Directory for 1860 as follows: Churches, chapels, and stations in England, 767; in Scotland, 183. Priests in England, 1,077; in Scotland 154. Colleges in England, 10, of which three are conducted by Jesuits; in Scotland, 3. Religious houses and communities of men, 37; Convents, 123.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

The Protestant Churches.—THE DISSATISFACTION OF THE HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTS with the new Imperial Patent of Sept. 1 has proved to be almost general, and their opposition to the carrying through of the new Church constitution much more decided and energetic than the Austrian government anticipated. The convocations of the old superintendent districts, though abolished by the new constitutions, have assembled as usual, in spite of the direct prohibition of the Austrian government, and entered their protest against the right assumed by the government to change the constitution of a Protestant Church. The most important of these convocations was that at Debrezin, held on January 11, which was also attended more numerously than any other yet held on the Imperial Patent. The summons of the Imperial commissary to disperse, met with a resolute refusal; the chairman declaring that, by the law of Hungary, they had an undoubted right to assemble to make such a protest, that that right they were determined to exercise, and that if force were employed they would have recourse to force. The presiding officers of one of these convocations have been sentenced to imprisonment. A deputation, consisting of two distinguished noblemen, which was sent to Vienna to lay their petition for the restoration of their legal rights in the hands of the emperor, was not received by the emperor, while a private audience, offered to them as individuals, was declined by them. At last the government seems, however, to have been intimidated by the determined attitude of the Hungarians. On February 1 the two chairmen of the Protestants were invited to an audience by the emperor, who declared himself willing to redress the grievances of the Protestants. The

deputation hit upon a plan which would remove the greatest difficulties, without compelling the government to expressly revoke the patent. The government consented to this plan, but the Protestant conference of Pesth did not indorse the transactions of their deputation, and insisted that the eight old district convocations must meet once more, in order to sanction the proposed expedient. It is generally believed that the Protestants will soon carry their point. In PRUSSIA the question of a reorganization of the Church is again ventilated. Several clergy and laymen of Berlin, mostly belonging to the school of Schleiermacher, lately presented a petition to the Prince Regent, praying for the convocation of a general synod for the purpose of drawing up a Church constitution. The Prince Regent, in his reply, countersigned by Herr von Bethman Hollweg, assured the petitioners that it is his wish to convoke a general synod as soon as it will be feasible, but that at present he does not consider the Church ripe for such a movement, and therefore a gradual progress in that direction preferable.

The Roman Catholic Church.

THE CONCORDAT WITH BADEN is at present the most exciting theme in Germany. Its publication has given rise to a very extensive agitation. The court, the ministers of the state, and the higher aristocracy side, in this question, with Rome, while nearly the whole population of the large towns, both Catholic and Protestant, nearly the whole press, and the Universities of Heidelberg and Freiburg, stand on the other side. The unanimity with which the University of Freiburg has pronounced itself has exceeded the general expectation. Eighteen of the twenty-one ordinary professors who do not belong to the theological faculty, and both the two extraordinary professors, have drawn up a *promemoria* regarding the "freedom of teaching," which they maintain will be annihilated should the following clause in the Concordat, "Whenever the archbishop deems that any teacher in the university, it matters not to what faculty he belong, puts forth in his lectures anything not in accordance with the dogmas of the Catholic Church, the grandducal government pledges itself to give, on application, all needful aid for the removal of the grievance," pass into law. A meeting of Protestant clergy and laity was held at Durlach for discussing the best means of protecting the rights of the Protestant Church, and

it has created much bad feeling that the seven members of the committee appointed by this meeting, have been required by the government to give an account of themselves. One of the passages which are most obnoxious to the laity of both (Protestant and Roman) Churches, is the provision on mixed marriages, according to which no Protestant pastor dare perform the marriage ceremony where one of the parties is a Roman Catholic, without a direct license from the parish priest. In some towns, as Heidelberg and Manheim, a large majority, even of the Roman Catholic population, have signed the petitions against the Concordat. It is generally understood that not above six or eight members of the second chamber, and not more than four of the first, will vote for the Concordat. While this proves conclusively that Rome has not yet regained a firm hold of the Roman Catholic population of Baden, the ADDRESSES OF SYMPATHY TO THE POPE have been signed very numerous in Prussia, where, as is now generally conceded, the attachment of the Roman Catholic population to the Church is stronger than in any other part of Germany. The address of the diocese of Cologne has been signed by 155,000 men, that of Breslau by 106,000, and in the other Prussian dioceses the signatures are equally numerous. The eight archbishops and bishops of Prussia have also prayed the Prince Regent of Prussia, in a joint address, to protect the rights of the pope as a legitimate sovereign. The union heretofore existing in the second chamber of the Prussian Parliament between the ministerial and the Roman Catholic parties has been dissolved, and consequently the leader of the latter party has not been re-elected first vice-president of the chamber. The Catholic party in the second chamber counts at present forty-two members. A considerable number of the Roman Catholic members do not belong to it.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Protestant Churches.—The Parliaments of all the three Scandinavian kingdoms have been occupied with the discussion of questions partly changing the ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION. In Sweden a bill brought in by the government, and proposing some mitigations of the intolerant old code, is likely to be adopted. It is, however, much less liberal than the propositions made to the diet by the late King Oscar. In Norway a Church committee, consisting of one bishop, two provosts, two pastors, two lawyers, and

two countrymen, which was appointed on January 27, 1859, has recommended the election of vestries in every congregation, and a revision of the legislation of divorces. In Denmark the draft of a new constitution has been submitted by the government to the diocesan conventions of the clergy. Public opinion in Denmark continues to pronounce itself decidedly in favor of an entire separation of Church and State, and motions to this effect have again been made in the diet. The Free Churches advance rapidly. The Baptists in Sweden, in spite of the incessant persecution, have increased to more than three thousand. The Methodist Episcopal Church in Norway and Denmark has six congregations, with more than four hundred members. In Norway also the Free Apostolic Church, founded by Pastor Lammers, is advancing; and in Denmark the number of the Free Lutheran congregations increases.

The Roman Catholic Church.

GREAT EFFORTS are made by the Roman missionaries, especially in the province of literature. Though their membership in all Scandinavia counts only a few thousand, they have started, during the past year, their third periodical, a political weekly. Recently, also, a history of the Roman Church in Denmark, from 828 to 1536, has been published by a Roman Catholic author, which attracts some attention, because it is, as yet, the only historical work on this period in the Danish language. In Copenhagen a free school has been established, where poor children receive not only free instruction, but also support, on which account it is visited also by many poor Protestant children.

FRANCE.

The Protestant Church.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE LEADING FRENCH PERIODICALS on Protestant affairs is attracting considerable attention. The *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the most thorough of all French papers, has brought out during the last year several articles in which a grand future is prophesied to the Protestant Church. An article of Emile Montegut on the works of Madame Gasparin remarks: "Noble Church, which in the midst of universal enfeeblement numbers yet so many loyal and valiant souls! Courage! In one way or another a grand future is reserved for you!" Similar are the sentiments of Prevost Paradol, one of the assistant editors of the *Journal des Debats*. He has recently published a new edition of

an older work on French Protestantism, and added to it an introduction on "the future of Protestantism in France," in which he describes the prospects of Protestantism as very good. But while thus Protestantism is advancing, the STRIFE OF PARTIES continues within. Rationalism is far from being extinct, and it is even asserted by some that it is again spreading among the younger clergy. Several new ultra-rationalistic and deistic books have been published by pastors of the French Churches, and indorsed by many others, and the views of men like the late Monod, have been pronounced by a Reformed pastor of Paris as antichristian, antihuman, and antidivine. The periodicals of the evangelical party strongly advocate the re-establishment of synods, from which they hope some remedy of the existing evils. The minister of public worship is favorable to this plan, but a majority of pastors is believed to be opposed to it. The evangelical party has recently suffered a great loss by the death of Mr. Bonifas, a young, pious, and talented professor of theology in the faculty of Montauban. His death will undoubtedly give rise to severe contests regarding the appointment of a successor.

The Roman Catholic Church.—

The new year opens with GLOOMY PROSPECTS for the Roman Church. The pamphlet *Le Pape et le Congrès* left no doubt on the intentions of the emperor. The pope's reply, ignoring the author and stigmatizing the pamphlet itself as hypocritical; the emperor's categorical assumption of the principles therein laid down; and, lastly, the encyclica of the pope to all the Roman bishops of the world, proclaimed to the whole world that the pope had completely fallen out with the most powerful protector of the Church among the European princes. That the immense majority of the French bishops and priests side with the pope cannot be doubted, for eighty-one out of eighty-three archbishops and bishops have come out publicly in defense of the temporal sovereignty of the pope, and only one, the Bishop of Troyes, has indirectly censured the demonstrations in favor of it. The suppression of the *Univers*, the leading Roman Catholic Daily of the world, is a proof that the emperor is not afraid to take up the gauntlet, and unless he finds it in his interest to change again his policy, we may expect for the current year a struggle between Church and State of the highest consequence. Both the great divisions,

into which the so-called Catholic party of France is divided, the strict ultramontanes (*Univers*) and the more moderate school, (Montalembert, Falloux, Lacordaire,) are in this question united against the emperor. Even some heirs of the old Gallican traditions have issued strong declarations in favor of the temporal power of the pope, among which no one has created greater surprise than that of Silvestre de Sacy, the editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Débats*. On the other hand there are, however, also several priests who have dared to declare themselves for the abolition of the temporal power. Among them Abbé Michon, who some years ago proposed to the pope to take up his residence in Jerusalem, is the most known. Great interest is also taken in the establishment of a new Anti-Roman periodical, called *l'Union Chrétienne*, of which the first number was published in November. The prospectus is signed by Abbé Guettée, well known as the author of the best work on the history of the Gallican Church, and by a priest of one of the Eastern Churches. The aim seems to be to unite all the episcopal Churches of the world on the basis of the œcumenical councils of the first centuries.

ITALY.

The Roman Catholic Church.—

AN ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF THE POPE, of January 19, announces to his "venerable brethren, the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, united by grace and the communion of the apostolic see," that the Emperor of France has openly adhered to the doctrines of the pamphlet *Le Pape et le Congrès*, notwithstanding these doctrines had previously been branded by the pope as hypocritical and extremely iniquitous; that he has advised the pope to give up the legations, and that the pope has replied that the papal rights of sovereignty could not be abdicated without violating the solemn oaths which bind the pope, and without weakening the rights of all the princes of the Christian world. The encyclical letter evidently regards the breach between Rome and the French government as complete, and anticipates serious troubles for the papacy. In the mean while the ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION in the states of Central Italy (Parma, Modena, Tuscany, the legations,) continues to undergo thorough changes. Three decrees are prepared in Tuscany; first, a commission will be appointed to draw up a report on the condition of the revenues of the various eccle-

siastical corporations of Tuscany, preliminary to the introduction of a bill for a more just distribution of the wealth of the Church, and the augmentation of the stipends of the rural clergy; secondly, an annual endowment of 40,000 lire (about \$6,000) will be created for the Jewish Establishment; thirdly, the concordat concluded under the late Grandduke Leopold will be abolished. Similar decrees are prepared in the other three states.

The Protestant Churches.—The news on the PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM is highly important. In Lombardy several societies are in the field for the work of evangelization. The Bible Society of Elberfeld supports six colporteurs; the Italian Evangelical Society of Geneva three or four; the Vaudois one; the depot of the British Bible Society at Genoa two. An evangelist of the Italian Church of Dr. de Sanctis, at Turin, is active at Milan. The new Waldensian congregation at Milan not only supports the pastor, but also enables him to send six colporteurs into Lombardy. In Sardinia an edition of the Italian New Testament is in progress at Turin. The Tract Society of Turin has been busy printing tracts during the summer. A new Waldensian chapel has been opened at Aosta, where a few years ago not a Protestant was to be found. Now one of the magistrates is a professed adherent. In Tuscany permission has been given for the introduction of the Bible through the custom-house, and a number of copies, after having been long imprisoned in the custom-house, have been liberated. The Waldensian congregation has obtained permission to open a separate place of worship, instead of conducting its services in the Swiss church, and a hall has been hired for the joint use of the Scotch and Italian congregations. Signor Mazzarella, from Genoa, preached for several weeks to crowded audiences,

until the government, as was believed, intimidated by the archbishop, temporarily shut up the place of gathering. Mazzarella then returned to Genoa, and Count Guicciardini, whose Plymouthian views are said to have injured the congregation in the estimation of the government, also left Florence. In January the Plymouth party formally separated from the congregation, led by an ex-priest, Gualtieri, who is supported as an evangelist in Florence by a committee in Nice. The congregation has found a new chief or evangelist in the person of a carpenter named Barsali, and the communicants, who were two hundred a few weeks ago, have now reached the number of three hundred. The agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society has removed his headquarters from Genoa to Florence, and numerous colporteurs are now traversing the country. Congregations have been formed at Pisa and Leghorn. Colporteurs and Scripture readers are also proceeding to Bologna, Parma, Modena, and throughout the whole of Tuscany.

SPAIN.

The Protestant Church.—Senor Escalante, the colporteur who for circulating the (Roman Catholic) Spanish version of the Scriptures has been in prison for eight months, has now been condemned by the court to nine years of imprisonment. A meeting at Edinburgh, Scotland, held on January 23, has invoked the interposition of the British government in his behalf.

The Roman Catholic Church.—A new concordat was signed on Nov. 25. According to Spanish papers the Pope consents in it to the sale of the Church property, and the salaries of the clergy are entered in the register of the public debt, to be paid by the state as interest.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

I. GERMANY.

1. Exegetical Literature.

Tischendorf, Novum Testamentum Græce. Vol. i, pp. cclxxviii, 696; vol. ii, pp. 681, 8vo. Leipzig: A. Winter. 1859. There is no difference of opinion concern-

ing the great merits of Professor Tischendorf in behalf of the Greek text of the New Testament. Nearly twenty years of his life have been devoted to the most thorough investigations for the purpose of re-establishing the original text in its purity. Numerous discoveries of great

importance have rewarded his incessant zeal, and established his reputation as the highest living authority in all questions relating to the purity of the sacred text. The preface gives, among other matter, a survey of the manuscripts of the New Testament, the version and the patristic works which Tischendorf has discovered and partially published, and of those which he has compared again, in order to find new material for his edition; a treatise on the order of the books of the New Testament; a review of the most important editions, and a survey of the whole material made use of by him. The text itself is accompanied by critical notes, giving the authorities for the readings of the common text, of the readings adopted by Tischendorf, and of the various readings in general. Since the publication of the seventh edition of the New Testament Professor Tischendorf has made a new journey to the East, and discovered a new manuscript more important than any other heretofore known. We give a brief account of it below under literary notices.

New volumes have been recently published of the two great Bibleworks of Bunsen and of Professor Lange in Bonn. The latter work, (*Theologische Homiletische Biblewerk*, Bielefeld, 1859,) whose author is a prominent member of the evangelical party and known by many other theological works, meets among the German clergy with a very favorable reception, as it not only gives in condensed form all the results of modern exegetical theology, but has also a very rich homiletic department. Ministers who can read German will find the work in this latter respect very useful and instructive.

The lectures of the late Professor Neander on the two Epistles to the Corinthians have been published by Beyschlag, court preacher at Carlsruhe. (*N.'s Theologische Vorlesungen*, vol. ii. Berlin.)

Professor Wiesler, of Göttingen, has published a new Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. (*Commentar über den Brief an die Galater*. Göttingen, 1859.) Professor Hupfeld, of Halle, the third volume of his Commentary on the Psalms. (*Die Psalmen*. Gotha, 1860.) The fourth volume, completing the work, will appear in 1861.

Of the exegetical manual on the apocryphal books, by Fritzsche and Grimm, (*Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apocryphen*. Leipzig,) the fifth volume has appeared.

The only work in the Roman Catholic theology worth noticing is a new manual of introduction to the books of the Old Testament, by Professor Reusch, of Bonn. (*Lehrbuch der Einleitung*. Freiburg, 1859.) The author, one of the ablest young theologians of the Roman Church, admits the superiority of Protestant literature by the complaint that among the standard works to which he refers there are only so few of Roman Catholic authors.

2. Historic Theology.

Hefele, History of Councils. (Concilien geschichte. Freiburg, vols. i-iii.) This work is acknowledged everywhere as the standard work, and in fact the only complete work on the subject, as for a long time no other general history of councils had appeared. It contains the history of all important synods, all the decrees, and the important documents both in the original and in a German translation; also the references to the works of Harduin and Mansi. A fourth volume is in press; it will be completed in five volumes.

Köppen, C. F. The Religion of Buddha, vol. ii, containing the Lamaic Hierarchy and Church. (Die Religion des Buddha. Berlin, 8vo.) A History of Buddhism was a great desideratum, because a number of the most important documents have become known only during the last years. A survey of all the newly discovered sources was given a few years ago by Professor Weber, of Berlin, in his "*Indische Studien*." These sources have been made use of by Köppen, and therefore the former works may be regarded, to some extent, as being superseded by it. The first volume was published in 1857, and well received by all Orientalists. The preface of the second volume states that another work on the history of Buddhism has been published in Russia by Wassiliew, and that a new source of information has been opened by the publication of the historic work of the Tibetan priest, Varanutha.

On the history of the Protestant Church in Russia during the present and last centuries, treat *Harnack*, (Professor in Erlangen, strict Lutheran,) *The Lutheran Church of Livonia and the Moravians*, (Die Lutherische Kirche Livalands Erlangen, 1859, pp. xiv, 400, 8vo,) and *Hasselblatt*, on the Present Position of the Moravians in Livonia, (Zur Beurtheilung der gegenwärtigen Stellung Herrnhuts in Livaland. Dorpat, 1859.) A little book on the *Evangelical Church in Austria: its History, Constitution, and Statistics*, by *Hornysanski*,

the editor of the two Protestant papers in Pesth, Hungary, (*Die evangelische kirche in Oesterreich*, Pesth, 1859,) is very seasonable, as the struggles of the Hungarian Protestants for their rights attract just now general attention.

Several valuable new editions of church fathers have appeared, among which we mention: *Dressel, Clementinorum Epitome duz*. Leipsic, 1859. 8vo., pp. ix, 334.) The editor is already well known by an edition of the Apostolic Fathers. Of the two epitomæ one appears in this edition in a greatly corrected form, while the other is published for the first time entire. *Krabinger, S. Cypriani libri ad donatum, de dominica oratione, de mortalitate, ad Demetrianum, de opere et elemosynis, de bono patientiæ et de zelo et livore* (Tubingen, 1859. 8vo., pp. viii, 320) gives an improved text and critical notes. *Laemmer, Eusebii Pamphili historia ecclesiastica libri x.* (Schaffhausen, 1859. Vol. i, pp. xiv, 148, 8vo.) All the manuscripts of Germany and Italy have been again compared, the Latin translation of Valesius corrected in several places, and critical notes added. The edition of the celebrated work of *S. Hippolytus, Refutationis omnium hæresium librorum decem*, by *Duncker and Schneidevin*, the first part of which appeared in 1856, has now been completed. (Goettingen, 1859. pp. viii, 574, 8vo.)

Of the comprehensive *History of the Religion of Jesus Christ*, commenced by Count *Stolberg*, (Roman Catholic,) and continued, though with less talent, by *Kerz*, and, at present, by *Brischar*, Professor at Vienna, the fifty-second volume has been issued, together with a complete index to vols. xvi-li. Other continuations of historic works are: *Gfroerer, History of Pope Gregory VII.*, vol. iv, and *Hiemer, Introduction of Christianity into Germany*, vol. v.

3. Dogmatic Theology.

Professor *Schenkel's Manual of Christian Doctrines* (*Die Christliche Dogmatik*, Wiesbaden, vol. ii,) is now complete. Of Professor *Philippi's* (Professor at Rostock, and High Lutheran) *System of Doctrines* (*Glaubenslehre*. Stuttgart, 1859,) the third volume has been issued, containing the doctrines of sin, of Satan, and of death.

4. Philosophical Literature.

F. Micheliis, (R. C.) the *Philosophy of Plato* in its inner relation to revealed truth. Part I., containing the introductions, the dialectic and Socratic dialogues (Munster,

1859.) *Ehlers, On the Influence of Ancient Philosophy*, especially the Platonic and Stoic, on the Christian apologetic writers of the second century. (Goettingen, 1859.) *Noack*, (Hegelian, author of a History of Christian Doctrines, and many other works,) *Schelling and the Philosophy of Romanticism*, vol. ii, which completes the work. (Berlin, 1859.) *Rosencranz*, (Hegelian,) *Science of the Logical Idea*. Part II. Logics and Doctrines of Ideas. (Koenigsberg, 1859.) *Apelt*, (adherent of the Philosophy of Fries,) *Philosophy of Religion*, (Leipsic, 1860,) tries to show that German theology, since Schleiermacher, has adopted false philosophic views, which have undermined the foundation of all theology, the true conception of the idea of God.

5. Periodicals.

Professor *Schenkel* of Heidelberg, in union with Professors *Baur* of Giessen, *Jacobi* of Halle, *Heppé* of Marburg, and other distinguished writers of the evangelical party, has established a new periodical called, *Allgemeine Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, (Elberfeld, 1860,) of which ten numbers will be published during the year. The "*Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*" of Darmstadt, of which Professor *Schenkel* has been, until now, assistant editor, will be edited in future by Dr. *Zimmerman*, Dr. *Palmer*, and Dr. *Lechler*. In Austria the *Protestantische Jahrbucher fur Oestreich*, by *Hornyanski*, which were discontinued two years ago, have been revived. The *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, of Rostock, one of the leading organs of the High Lutherans, changes its title into *Theologische Zeitschrift*. It will in future be edited by Professor *Dieckhoff* of Goettingen, and Dr. *Kliefoth* of Schwerin, and six numbers will be published a year. It will contain three departments: I. Articles; II. Religious Intelligence; III. Literary Intelligence.

6. General Literary Notices.

The New Manuscript of the Bible from Mount Sinai. The most valuable discovery made by Professor *Tischendorf*, during his late journey in the East, is a new manuscript of the Greek New Testament, more important for the establishment of the original text of the New Testament than any other manuscript of the Bible heretofore known. For many reasons Professor *Tischendorf* feels convinced that it was made in the first half of the fourth century, and that it is therefore the oldest manuscript of the New Testament which is extant. Only the celebrated Vaticana

can be compared with it, though even this is less valuable, because five entire books and one part of a sixth are wanting in it. The old age attributed by Tischendorf to this new manuscript, was contested by a member of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, but defended by Tischendorf with arguments which have given, in the literary world, general satisfaction.

II. FRANCE.

1. Theological Literature.

"*Christianity in the Middle Ages—Innocent III.*," (Le Christianisme au Moyen Age. Paris, 1859,) is the title of a new work of Count Agenor de Gasparin. No man of Protestant France has among the evangelical denominations of England and America a better name than Count A. de Gasparin. Equally opposed to the Roman and the rationalistic theologies, and a strenuous advocate of the interests of the Free Churches, and as conspicuous for ripe scholarship as for zeal and piety, he has stood for many years in the foremost ranks of the defenders of evangelical Christianity. This last work of his unites, according to the *Revue Chrétienne*, the strictest impartiality of a truth-loving historian with an uncompromising opposition to the system of which it treats. This last work of Gasparin is one of a series of Lectures on Church History, by Gasparin, Bungener, Pressense, and Viguet.

Another distinguished writer of Protestant France, Edmond de Pressense, (editor of the *Revue Chrétienne*), has commenced in 1859 a new History of the Christian Church during the first three centuries, (*Histoire des trois premiers siècles de l'Eglise Chrétienne*. Paris, 1859. 8vo., 2 vols.) A third volume has been promised for 1860. The leading literary and religious journals of France have devoted long articles to a review of this work, which is generally regarded as one of the best contributions of France to the literature of Church history.

Another historic work of importance is a *History of the French Reformation*, by F. Picaud, a pastor of the Reformed Church, of which also 2 vols. have been issued. The whole work will contain 6 vols., (*Histoire de la Réformation Française*. Paris, 1859. 8vo.)

The recent French literature is rich in works defending the principle of religious liberty, or, at least, toleration. If Protestant Christianity is not yet in the ascendancy in France, it at least receives

credit from a vast majority of the intelligent Frenchmen for having successfully overcome some of the consequences of Roman theology. Among the recent works which treat of this subject, we mention a *History of Religious Liberty in France and of its Founders*, by Dargaud, (*Histoire de la Liberté Religieuse en France et de ses Fondateurs*, 4 vols. Paris, 1859,) and a work on *The Future of Toleration*, by Ad. Schaeffer. (*Essai sur l'avenir de la Tolérance*, 1 vol. Paris, 1859.)

The literary papers of France bring a large list of other recent interesting publications, but we have no space for extensive notices. We only mention some of the most important. *Sainte Beuve*, a great admirer of the Jansenists, has issued vols. iv and v of his work on "*Port Royal*," which is now complete. The indefatigable *Abbé Migne* is rapidly progressing in the publication of the Greek Church Fathers (*Patrologia Græca*.) At present the works of *Cyril of Alexandria*, and of *Theodoretus*, are going through the press. *Abbé Constant* has published two volumes of investigations on one of the sorest points of the Roman system, the infallibility of the Popes, (*L'Histoire et l'Infallibilité des Papes*. Paris, 1859. 2 vols., 8vo.) with what ability we have not yet been able ourselves to examine. To an observer of the Mohammedans in Algeria (*Ch. Bresselard*) we are indebted for valuable information on the constitution of the Mohammedan religious orders in Algeria. (*Les Khouan, Alger*, 1859.) Of one of the larger works undertaken conjointly by the congregation of French Benedictines, "*The Acts of the Martyrs from the Beginning of the Christian Church until the Present Time*," (*Les Actes des Martyrs*. Paris, 1859, 8vo.,) the third volume has appeared.

2. Periodicals.

In the Annual Catalogue of French Literature for 1859, published at Paris by Ch. Rheinwald, we find a list of the religious papers of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. The first contains 18, the second 15, the third 3 names. Among the Roman Catholics are two which are strongly antipapal, (*l'Observateur Catholique* and *l'Union Chrétienne*), and one in a foreign language. Deducting these three, we have the curious fact, that the one or two millions of Protestants support as many periodicals as the more than thirty millions of Roman Catholics.

ART. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

- I. THE THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL, January, 1860.—1. Dr. Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought: 2. Notes on Scripture: Matthew xxiii, xxiv: 3. Christ's Promises, in the Epistles to the Churches, to those who are Victorious: 4. The Indo-Syrian Church: 5. Designation and Exposition of Isaiah, chapters xlix, l, and li: 6. The Book of Judges: 7. Mr. Hequemburg's Plan of Creation.
- II. THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. The Synod of Dort: 2. Symbolical Import of Baptism: 3. Moses and his Dispensation: 4. No Priest but Christ: 5. Private Christians in their Relations to the Unbelieving World: 6. The Present and Past Physical State of Palestine: 7. The American Board and the Choctaw Mission: 8. The Raid of John Brown and the Progress of Abolition.
- III. QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, January, 1860.—1. Masson's Life of Milton: 2. Dr. Alexander's Theory of Conscience: 3. The Philosophy of the Conditioned: 4. Evangelism: 5. The Classic Localities of our Land: 6. German Theology.
- IV. BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Christianity or Gentilism? 2. The Soul's Activity: 3. Manahan's Triumph of the Church: 4. The Bible against Protestants: 5. The True Cross: 6. The Yankee in Ireland.
- V. THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Sir William Hamilton's Lectures: 2. Rives's Life of Madison: 3. India. Part Second—British India: 4. Sprague's Annals of the American Baptist Pulpit: 5. Thomson's Logic: 6. Relations of Romans i, 18–23, to the General Argument with the whole Epistle: 7. Early Baptist History.
- VI. THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. The Ministerial Office: 2. The Shekinah: 3. Israel under the Second Great Monarchy: 4. Baptism of Children, etc.: 5. Does John iii, 5, refer to Baptism? 6. Exposition of Matthew xi, 12: 7. English Lutheran Hymn Books: 8. Baccalaureate Address: 9. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 10. The Defense of Stephen.
- VII. THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Sketches of a Traveler from Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine: 2. Churchliness: 3. The Church and Charitable Institutions: 4. The Festival of Adonis: 5. The American Student in Germany: 6. Synodical Church Authority: 7. Cantate Domino.
- VIII. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, January, 1860.—1. The Religious Life and Opinions of John Milton: 2. Church Theology and Free Inquiry in the Twelfth Century: 3. Limits of Religious Thought adjusted: 4. The Twofold Life of Jesus Christ: 5. Objections from Reason against the Endless Punishment of the Wicked: 6. Hymnology.
- IX. THE NEW ENGLANDER, February, 1860.—1. Mr. Tennyson and the Idyls of King Arthur: 2. American Legislation: 3. Denominational Colleges: 4. The Reopening of the African Slave Trade: 5. Professor Lewis's New Work, "The Divine Human in the Scriptures": 6. The Minister's Wooing: From the Dr. Dryasdust Point of View: 7. Sir William Hamilton's Lectures on Metaphysics: 8. Professor Huntington's New Volume of Sermons.
- X. THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Inductive and Deductive Politics: 2. The Physio-Philosophy of Oken: 3. Classification and Mutual Relation of the Mental Faculties: 4. The Text of Jeremiah: 5. Primeval Period of Sacred History: 6. Dorner's Christology: 7. What is Christianity?

- XI. THE PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. "Old and New School" Theology: 2. Schleiermacher: 3. Justice, as satisfied by the Atonement: 4. Archbishop Tillotson: 5. Presbyteries in Foreign Lands.
- XII. THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, AND CHURCH REGISTER, January, 1860.—1. The Evidence of Miracles: 2. The Lord Jesus and James the Lord's Brother were equally the Sons of Mary: 3. The Relation of Rational to Religious Morality. An Essay on Intuitive Morals: 4. A Letter to the Christian Laity of the United States: 5. Tennyson's Idyls of the King: 6. Vestiges of the Spirit-History of Man.
- XIII. THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, January, 1860.—1. The Women of Homer: 2. The Dark Places in the Divine Providence: 3. The Study of Nature: 4. Pestalozzi: 5. Slavery in the Territories: 6. The Messiah of the Jews: 7. Novels of 1859.
- XIV. UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY AND GENERAL REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Rationalistic Theology: 2. Humboldt: 3. The World at the Advent: 4. Destruction of Soul and Body in Gehenna: 5. The New Testament Doctrine of Salvation: 6. Exposition of 2 Corinthians v, 10.
- XV. THE FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, January, 1860.—1. Gerritt Smith's Religion of Reason: 2. The Baptismal Question: 3. The Nature and Relations of Faith: 4. A Biographical Sketch of Rev. Elias Hutchins.
- XVI. THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. The Bible on the Social Relations: 2. Review of Letters on Psalmody: 3. Bible Revision: 4. The Ancient Church: 5. The Early Scotch and Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania: 6. The Sabbath Question: 7. The United Presbyterian Church.

II.—English Reviews.

- I. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Dr. N. W. Taylor on the Moral Government of God: 2. Barnes on the Atonement: 3. Sunday Laws: 4. Revised Book of Discipline: 5. The Theology of Edwards, as shown in his Treatise concerning Religious Affections: 6. Ballantyne's Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy: 7. The Geography of Palestine: 8. Bayne's Christian Life: 9. The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward.
- II. THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.—1. Young Quakerism: 2. Virginia—the Old Dominion: 3. The Church Cause and the Church Party: 4. The Ambrosian Liturgy: 5. L'Union Chrétienne: 6. Realities of Paris Life: 7. Revision of the Prayer Book.
- III. THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, January, 1860.—1. On the True Reading and Correct Interpretation of Psalm xl, 6: 2. The Origin and History of the Sacred Slaves of Israel in Hivitia, Mount Se'yr, and the Hivite Tetrapolis: 3. Ancient and Modern Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures: 4. Theories of Biblical Chronology: 5. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John. Rev. xii: 6. Recent Syriac Literature.
- IV. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Orators and Oratory: 2. Bushnell on the Natural and Supernatural: 3. Wordsworth: 4. Grattan's Civilized America: 5. The Christian Mediation: 6. Ethnological Varieties: 7. John Stuart Mill—Liberty and Society: 8. Old English Songs and Ballads: 9. The Germanic Confederation: 10. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

In the article on Ethnological Varieties, we have some curious premonitions of American decay, founded on our deficit "of the subcutaneous adipose cushion."

"It has generally been a received dogma that the whole earth is the domain of man; that, whereas animal and vegetable tribes have their geographical and climatic limits, which they cannot pass with impunity, man may become a denizen of any latitude. Such is the truth in words; but when we examine facts, there are striking modifications necessary. Some varieties of men live and thrive,

where others only die or wither. To take a familiar illustration, Europeans cannot colonize a tropical country; to some extent they can *live* there, subject to a variety of diseases and a deterioration of constitution. But they cannot even live there without assistance; they cannot cultivate the soil; for this a tropical race is required. To this rule we know of no valid exception. England cannot colonize, properly speaking, India nor tropical Africa; Spain, in the same sense, could not colonize South America; France can hold Algeria as a military colony, but in what other sense? None of these can become inhabitants of the country invaded, in the proper sense of the term—independent, self-supporting. Their very numbers can only be kept up by immigration; let this cease, and probably in a century the invading race will die out."

"It is strongly suspected that this law is more general in its application than this; that difference of latitude is not the only bar to colonization. The mightiest colony the world has ever seen is that of the United States; its progress has been most marvelous; yet, as an Anglo-Saxon race, its future at least admits of doubt. An impression is growing that this race languishes in North America, all its apparent vigor notwithstanding. There are unmistakable signs in the people of premature maturity and premature decay; and another certain mark of a tendency to decay is that the average number of children in families is small. Up to the present time, mighty masses of population, Saxon and Celt, are daily pouring fresh blood into the Union, rendering population returns of no value whatever, ethnologically considered."

"But when this stream shall stop, as stop it must; when the colony comes to be thrown on its own resources; when fresh blood is no longer infused into it, and that, too, from the sources from whence they originally sprung; when the separation of Celt, Saxon, and South German shall have taken place in America itself—an event soon to happen—then will come the time to calculate the probable result of this great experiment on man. All previous ones of this nature have failed; why should this succeed? Already I can imagine I perceive in the early loss of the subcutaneous adipose cushion, which marks the Saxon and Celtic American, proofs of a climate telling against the very principle of life—against the very emblem of youth, and marking with a premature appearance of age the race whose sojourn in any land can never be eternal under circumstances striking at the essence of life itself. Symptoms of a premature decay, as the early loss of teeth, have a similar signification. The notion that the races become taller in America I have shown to be false; statistics, sound statistics, have yet to be found; we want the history of a thousand families, and their descendants, who have been located in America two hundred years ago, and who have not intermingled with fresh blood from Europe. The population returns now offered us are worthless on a question of this kind. The colonization, then, of Northern America by Celt and Saxon, and South or Middle German, is a problem whose success cannot be foretold, cannot reasonably be believed. All such experiments have hitherto failed."—Dr. Knox, *Races of Men*, p. 14.

V. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Government Contracts: 2. The Realities of Paris: 3. Ceylon: 4. The Social Organism: 5. Sicily as it was and is: 6. Christian Revivals: 7. Italy: the Designs of Louis Napoleon.

Had it been our task to furnish a predictive outline of what the Westminster would say about *revivals*, we could, we think, have furnished very nearly the programme of its article on that subject, an article which has been, really if not intentionally, well refuted by a counter view of the subject in the London Review, from the pen of Rev. William Arthur. The Westminster's article consists of about the staple ordinarily employed in manifestoes on such subjects from that standpoint. It has the marked excellences and other traits that distinguished the essays of Thomas Paine; frankness, individuality, strong vernacular English, a vein of coarseness and a subtone of cold irony. Perhaps the following passage from another part of the number, will present a view of the equivocal platform of so-called Christianity, upon which this publi-

cation undertakes to stand. Speaking of a professed French deistical author, M. Disdier, the Review says:

"He appears to be truly angry with M. Ernest Renan for having said of the Hebrews that they had an apostleship (*apostolat*) assigned them by Providence to declare to the rest of the world the truths of monotheism. M. Disdier may be correct in maintaining that others besides the Semites have arrived at the conception of one God—probably the Indian Aryans had done so in the pre-Vedic period, and a Plato did so among the Greeks—nevertheless it may be said, without intending it in any superstitious sense, that the Jews had a mission to make known or suggest that idea to others who would have been long in discovering it for themselves. Neither from our recollection of the essay itself, nor from M. Disdier's quotation of it, have we any impression that M. Renan intended his expression of *apostolat* to mean a supernatural mission. But M. Renan, though an unflinching critic of the Biblical records, would, we believe, on no account abjure the Christian name, or sever himself by any act of his own from the Christian community. And we hope M. Disdier will allow us to say, without offense, that the question at issue between himself and Christianity is not simply an intellectual one. Many may go a long way with him in what he considers the critical disproof of Christianity, and yet not abandon it in every sense. There are those who may have said to themselves, at successive stages of their inquiries, that they could not consider themselves Christians if they did not believe the true divinity of Jesus according to Nicene definitions; or, if they did not acknowledge in him some superhuman nature; or, if they did not believe his supernatural incarnation, and a miraculous origin of the Gospel; or, at least, if they did not conceive of him as humanly perfect. And yet, when some if not all of these questions have been in succession determined intellectually in the negative, they have felt themselves to be Christians still. It has been impossible for them to cut themselves off from Christian predecessors, through whom, along with whatever errors, there has come to them a moral teaching and a spiritual life. Many more, though they never have and probably never will open those other inquiries, nor could have the opportunity of settling intellectual and speculative points, are likewise Christians, not because of the dogmas or the wonders of Christianity, but because they have learned from it precious truths concerning God, and the soul, and good, and an eternal life. And so it has happened that the tree has continued to grow, though Paine and Voltaire prophesied the reverse, because it has its main hold not by the speculative but by the moral root."

VI. THE NATIONAL REVIEW, January, 1860.—1. Mr. Kingsley's Literary Errors and Excesses: 2. The Foreign Office; Classic or Gothic: 3. Whateley's Edition of Paley's Ethics: 4. The Blind: 5. Intemperance; its Causes and Cures: 6. Theodore Parker: 7. England's Policy in the Congress: 8. Darwin on the Origin of Species: 9. The History of the Unreformed Parliament, and its Lessons.

The article on Theodore Parker, while conceding more truth to Parkerism than we can afford, contains some able counter views well worthy attention. On Mr. Parker's rejection of miracles we have the following utterances:

"To Mr. Parker's fundamental assumption that God always acts according to law—in other words, that the infinite perfection of his nature excludes the idea of all caprice, uncertainty, and contradiction in his modes of action—we can take no exception. But it does not follow that the laws already within our intellectual ken must embrace all possible laws. There are probably laws within laws only unfolded by degrees to human view; stratifications, as it were, of spiritual agency, one underlying the other, the deepest and widest of which may only *crop out* now and then on the outer surface of human affairs. To deny this seems to us a narrow dogmatism, which presumes to arrest at a certain point the development of man's acquaintance with the ways of God, and ties up by the result of a limited experience the possibilities of future knowledge. Mr. Parker's own religious philosophy, so comprehensive and spiritual, recognizing God as immanent in all things, and regarding all phenomena as the continuous effect of his omnipresent and unceasing energy, should have withheld him from sanctioning even in appearance a doctrine which would limit the divine free agency. Phenomena are

first-born, with his brothers and sisters, constitutes a pretty well defined family. Equally conclusive is the language of the Nazarenes, Mark vi, 3: "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James and Joses, and of Juda and of Simon? And are not his sisters here with us?" Here are literal father, mother, sisters, and brothers, all combined in one family group. And here the term *brother* is applied to Jesus himself, and from other speakers than the evangelists, whose conformity with the evangelists in calling cousins brothers and sisters is utterly unaccountable. The family, be it noted, is all resident at Nazareth. 5. The cousins were *apostles*; the brothers were not apostles, but *unbelievers*. The Reviewer oddly considers this "the only difficulty" to his theory; whereas we have stated already some four or five points to which he scarce makes the offer of an answer. Of this "only difficulty," he states but a bare fraction, and to that fraction offers, we think, two very incomplete answers. His *first* answer is a quoted criticism on the word *believe*, to show that the disbelief of the *brothers* was not positive: to which he himself justly attributes little weight. His *second* answer is to attribute the disbelief to some other relatives at Nazareth, (called brothers,) which, inasmuch as no word in the text ever mentions their existence, is a purely arbitrary creation *a nihil*. Now, to cancel both these answers at one swoop, the disbelief of these brothers was positive, permanent, inclusive of them all, and utterly inconsistent with their being apostles. That it was positive is plain from our Lord's stern rebuke, closing the conversation in John vii, 8-7: "The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth," etc.; by the fact that they were probably the *relatives* who pronounced him "beside himself," Mark 3, 21; and by our Lord's declaration that he was without "honor in his own house." That this disbelief was inclusive of *all* his *brothers* is proved not only by this last expression of Jesus, but by John's words, vii, 5: *Neither did his brethren believe on him*; words that would not have been used, if true of but a part; showing both that the word *brothers* is specifically, not generically used, and that the whole *species* was disbelieving. 6. At this point we notice the *strong* argument of the Review, which is founded on the mere coincidence of names. For each name of three or four brothers, we grant there is a duplicate name among the two or three apostle cousins. There are at any rate duplicate Jameses, and Judes, and this duplication is, by a strong term for a feeble fact, styled by Lange, as quoted, "miraculous." Now it is, we think, about as miraculous as that there should be two Marys sisters; or two Herod Philips, brothers. It is not quite as miraculous as that there should be three duplicate names in the catalogue of the twelve; namely, two Simons, two Jameses, and two Judahs: for this duplication was accidental, whereas that in discussion was probably intentional. For if we will lay aside all prepossession from modern customs in regard to names, what marvel is it that two sisters, both whose names were Mary, should intentionally give duplicate names to three or four sons? Now between the two sides of these duplicates, we have in Matt. xii, 46-50, a very distinct separation. Jesus with his disciples is within a house, surrounded by the crowd; his mother, brothers, and sisters are announced to him as being without the house wishing to see him. Between the apostle cousins and the

unsympathizing brothers, therefore, there were the dense crowd and the house walls. Our Lord's refusal to see them, and his concluding declaration that his disciples were more to him than relatives, furnishes a significant intimation upon what errand the *δουλὰ* had come. Moreover, the reviewer would require us to read Mark iii, 3, thus: Whoever shall do the will of God is my male cousin, and my female cousin, and my mother. 7. It is unaccountable, if these brothers and sisters are the children of the still living wife of Alpheus, that they are never found with their own mother, but are uniformly part of the *δουλὰ* of the mother of Jesus. 8. In Acts i, 13, we have the eleven enumerated, including the apostle cousins, as present at prayer; and then in verse 14 we have added to the company present Mary the mother of Jesus, with his brothers. That is, all the living apostles are mentioned in one verse; and then the brothers of Jesus are separately mentioned in the next verse. If the brothers were apostles, then, they are most assuredly twice enumerated in the same sentence as being in the same company. If the passage means any thing, it means that the eleven apostles were present, and besides them the mother and brothers of Jesus.

That Jesus committed his mother to the care of John, and not to his brothers, is no stranger than his choosing John and not a relative to be his beloved disciple. That James the Lord's brother is afterward called an apostle, places him finally upon a par with Paul and Barnabas, as being an apostle extra of the twelve. That the apostle cousins should disappear from sight in the history subsequent, only places them in the same category with the majority of the apostolic college; who faithfully labored, but left no record, while new characters from Tarsus and Cyprus strangely spring into historic notoriety. Less strange, however, it is that the Lord's own brother, of the pure Davidic line, and he no less a character than James the Just, should rule as bishop where he had a lineal right to rule as prince. Let us, if it be parliamentary, "move a substitute" for this part of the reviewer's noble portraiture, to the following effect:

James, the eldest son of Joseph and Mary, resided at Nazareth with his mother after his father's death, and during the ministry of Jesus. He partook of the hardihood both of the Galilean and Nazarene character, added to the inflexibility which at this time formed the basis of the Jewish nature. There seems to have been some truth in the tradition which attributes to him tendencies to ascetism, and these strong Judaic tendencies rendered him reluctant to admit the claims of Jesus to supplant Judaism with a new dispensation. Hence he shared the opposition of his townsmen at Nazareth. With his younger brothers, he induced his believing mother and his sisters, under the persuasion that the ministry of Jesus was overtasking his strength, overstraining his intellect, and exposing him to danger, to attempt to recall him to the safe and healthful seclusion of his mountain home. But as Jesus drew near the end of his course, some strong evidences seemed to overcome the opposition of James. It may have been the final signal miracle of the raising of Lazarus; it may have been the scenes of sorrow and of stupendous miracle at the crucifixion; or it may have been the appearance to him of the risen Jesus, which converted James and brought him

with his mother and brothers to the prayer circle after the ascension. The same strong traits that made him so firm an unbeliever made him a firm servant of Jesus. As time developed his character and his religion, he became an apostle, a bishop, a pillar; the Ἀποστόλης ὁ δίκαιος of the Apostolic Church.

The article on American Slavery would be very useful for American perusal. It might show us where the disciples of Wesley and Watson, on the other side of the Atlantic, stand. The following passage introduces Rev. J. D. Long's book:

"The *Pictures of Slavery* are not very artistically drawn, nor is the book very methodical or systematic; but it is, nevertheless, valuable as embodying facts in the personal experience of an apparently pious and earnest minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was born and reared in a slave state; but grew up with a horror of slavery. Finding, in after years, that this system was teaching his own sons 'hatred of work and of slaves,' he removed to Philadelphia. In the struggle respecting slavery which agitated his Church, he was of course on the right side, and remained with the Northern or 'Methodist Episcopal' Church after the division. His volume, however, by its fearful denunciation of the slaveholding element in the border Conferences, has given umbrage to persons of influence and authority in that Church. Mr. Long adduces many facts in proof, not only that slaves are held, but that the breeding, buying, and selling of slaves are practiced by members of this Church, in those parts of her territory that abut upon the slaveholding Conferences of her southern rival. He argues, however, and as it seems to us conclusively, that, unless she shall declare slaveholding to be incompatible with Church-membership, except under the circumstances provided for in the old 'Discipline,' she will not be free from complicity in the atrocious practices which he describes. The social state which he depicts is fearful; the licentiousness both of whites and Negroes is proverbial; and it seems all but impossible to bring Church discipline to bear upon it, especially among the negroes. Indeed, how can it be otherwise, when the inviolability of the marriage bond as between slaves is nowhere recognized? when the power of the master—his legal power, we mean—overrides all Church authority? when he may drive from her house the husband of his slave-woman, and may compel her to take any colored man he pleases? Well may the author say, 'My opinion is, that the clergyman who believes chattel-slavery well-pleasing in the sight of God, and who justifies the master in separating husband and wife, ought not to marry slaves. If he does, he must do it under the impression that the master is equal in authority with the Deity, or the Lord of heaven and earth contradicts himself.' We understand that this question of slaveholding and membership is likely to be the prominent topic of discussion at the forthcoming General Conference; and we shall await the issue with much solicitude, though not without a sanguine hope that this great Atlantic Church will prove worthy of its English founder, who pronounced slavery to be 'the execrable sum of all human villany.'"—P. 511.

The following paragraph is a graphic picture of the Southern oligarch:

"It remains to say a little (and not much is needed) respecting the social aristocracy of the South—the wealthy planters. Their portrait has often been drawn: Refinement of manner and of taste; the power of being agreeable to social equals; elegance of dress and equipage; attachment to literature and art; (that is, to *belles lettres* and dilettantism;) profuse and graceful hospitality; chivalrous gentlemen, and ladies of the highest grace and accomplishment. These are the lights of the picture, and have had full and repeated justice done to them. Nay, they have often misled susceptible Englishmen and Americans from the North, who refuse to believe any ill of that courtly and generous race whose home is among the orange-groves and magnolias, and beneath the balmy skies of the sunny South. But there are dark and terrible shadows. Intemperance, gambling, unrestrained licentiousness, dueling, assassination—who has not heard of these things as equally characteristic of Southern society? The

men who have made the sacred halls of the National Congress a proverb of vulgarity, ribaldry, and ruffianism, come chiefly from the South. And how can it be otherwise? It is not in human nature to withstand the enervating and demoralizing effect produced by the possession of such stupendous powers as belong to the slaveholder. Selfish, lordly, implacable, revengeful, must any community so circumstanced become; and it is both weak and sinful to be deceived by the roseate hue of the mere surface of its life. It is hard to say whether the system works more mischief to the poor slave or to his master. Its pestilential breath invades the negro hut, and poisons its inmates with squalidity, indolence, slovenliness, profanity, indecency, despair; or with that childlike thoughtlessness and mirth which, in an enslaved man, is worse than even despair. But the same breath floats through the scented atmosphere into *boudoir* and drawing-room; enervates the Southern beauty with voluptuousness and indolence, and kills her with *ennui*; sometimes, alas! makes the bosom that heaves and the heart that beats beneath the silken bodice as cold as marble and as cruel as death; while it steals away from the lord of the soil his Saxon manliness, self-reliance, candor, forbearance, self-control, and love of freedom, and makes him helpless, idle, prodigal, reckless, irascible, sensual, and cruel."—P. 531.

III.—French Reviews.

- I. REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, January 1, 1860.—1. Une Réforme Administrative en Afrique. 1. Des Conditions de Notre Etablissement Colonial: 2. Salomé, Scènes de la Forêt-Noire: 3. Les Dégénérescences de L'Espèce Humaine. Origines et Effets de L'Idiotisme et du Crétinisme: 4. D'Espagne et le Gouvernement Constitutionnel Depuis le Ministère O'Donnell. Les Partis et la Guerre du Maroc: 5. La Marine Française dans la Guerre D'Italie. L'Escadre de L'Adriatique et la Flotille du lac de Garde: 6. Les Drames de la Vie Littéraire. Charlotte et Henri Stieglitz: 7. De L'Alimentation Publique. Le Thé, son rôle Hygiénique et les diverses préparations Chinoises: 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire: 9. Revue Musicale.
- January 15, 1860.—1. Les Commentaires d'un Soldat. 1. Les Premiers Jours de la Guerre de Crimée: 2. Une Réforme Administrative en Afrique: 2. L'Ancienne Administration et les Gouverneurs-Généraux: 3. Souvenirs d'un Amiral. III^e Série. La Marine sous la Restauration. 1. Une Expédition Anglo-Française Après 1815: 4. De la Métaphysique et de son Avenir: 5. Scènes et Souvenirs du Bas-Languedoc. Les Financés de la Gardiole: 6. Le Roman Satirique et les Mœurs Administratives en Russie. Mille Ames, de M. Pisemski, etc.: 7. Etudes D'Economie Forestière. La Sylviculture en France et en Allemagne: 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how-books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

I.—Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

- (1.) "*The Divine Human in the Scriptures.* By TAYLER LEWIS, Union College." 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1860.

Professor Lewis is one of the most accomplished scholars, subtle thinkers, and elegant writers of our country. His scholarship is profound and searching; yet rather graceful and ornamental to the texture of his productions than re-

pulsive or plodding. He is, if we mistake not, on some points ultra-conservative; and yet on others a deep digger for originality and a daring theorist. When we hesitate as to full acceptance of his theories and except to some of his extreme statements, we acknowledge the contribution of valuable thoughts and plausible illustration; nor do we at all admire the tone with which some of his productions have been treated in certain quarters.

The present volume we place among his best efforts. There is much for which the Christian public should be grateful, and very little indeed liable to objection. Its object is to show that the Bible is a book at once most truly divine and most intensely human. It is divine in all its thoughts, emotions, words. It is also truly human in all its thoughts, emotions, words. Its anthropomorphism is a true, sole, necessary method of intercommunication between the Infinite person and finite humanity. That method no human growth of mind can ever make obsolete. And as in this anthropomorphism consists the possibility of revelation, so in this is the source of its power; by which the Bible, and the Bible alone of all so-called sacred books in the world, can and must be a universal book. Originating in a secluded race, it is the book of the universal soul, most easily translatable into all languages, and making its conquests as sure and as sweeping in the modern Occident as the ancient Orient. The Professor sends a rapid glance through the Old Testament, and traces in the very text itself a striking line of internal proof of the truthfulness of its entire range of books. Less striking, but still impressive, is the same argument as applied to the New Testament. Upon the whole, both as to the inspiration and the truth of the sacred Word, it is a learned, an eloquent, an impressive book.

The following passage furnishes his view of the nature of inspiration :

"It must, then, be one of the most unflinching deductions of such a subdued spirit, thus believing in revelation as a fact as well as an idea, that not only its thought but its very language is divine. This one may hold without being driven to that extreme view of verbal inspiration which regards the sacred penmen as mere amanuenses, writing words and painting figures dictated to them by a power and an intelligence acting in a manner wholly extraneous to the laws of their own spirits, except so far as those laws are merely physical or mechanical. We may believe that such divine intelligence employed in this sacred work, not merely the hands of its media, not merely the vocal organs played upon by an outward material afflatus, not merely the mechanical impressions of the senses, or the more inward, though still outwardly reflected images of the fancy and the memory, but also the thoughts, the modes of thinking, modes of feeling, modes of conceiving, and hence, of outward expression—in a word, the intellectual, emotional, and imaginative temperaments, all their own, each peculiar to the respective instruments, yet each directed, controlled, made holy, truthful, pure, as became the trustworthy agents for the time being of so holy a work. The face is human, most distinctly human; yet each lineament, besides its own outward expression, represents also some part of that photographic process that had its origin in the world of light, and came down from 'the Father of lights,' with whom there is no parallax or shadow of turning.

"In this sense, the language, the very words, the very figures outwardly used, yea, the etymological metaphors contained in the words, be they ever so interior, are all inspired. They are not merely general effects, in which sense all human utterances, and even all physical manifestations may be said to be inspired, but the specially designed products of *emotions* supernaturally inbreathed, these becoming outward in *thoughts*, and these, again, having their ultimate outward forms in *words* and *figures* are truly designed in the workings of this chain, and

thus as truly inspired, as the thoughts of which these words are the express image, and the inspired emotions in which both thoughts and images had their birth. One theory of verbal inspiration begins with the language, as being that which is first and directly given to the inspired medium; that is, given to him outwardly, by impressions on the organs of sense, or by some action on the sensorium, or in some mode at least, that is outward to the most interior spirit; the other regards the supernatural action as beginning with the most interior spirituality, and ending with language as the last outward result. It is a product of a series, yet, as such product, representative of the entire spiritual action that has terminated in it, and having something corresponding to every step of such spiritual action in the whole course of its procession from the primal generative emotion to the ultimate sound or sign. It is all here, and a devout study of the language, aided by the spirit that gave it, will carry back the soul from the words to the images, from the images to the thoughts, from the thoughts to the spiritual emotion, or to communion with the living word, from whence the whole sacred stream has flowed. *'With thee is the fountain of life. In thy light do we see light. All the words of the Lord are pure; they are as choice silver tried; yea, seven times purified.'*

"Throughout the process it is, indeed, the human soul energizing in its psychological order, and according to the law of its freedom, yet, from the very incipency of the inspiration, purified, elevated, guarded, and made unerring, by the power and presence of a higher spirit. The difference is a wide one, and yet this latter theory of verbal inspiration holds equally with the former that the very words are inspired; the peculiar language employed, (and sometimes it is very peculiar and characteristic of the individual medium,) the very figures, whether justified by the rules of ordinary criticism or not, are all chosen of God; they are 'choice words,' tried words, designed to be just what they are, and for special reasons in *themselves*, or their contexts, and not merely as connected with the general system of providential or natural means in the regulation of the universe. Like creation, it is a supernatural beginning, entering into and setting in motion a chain of sequences (natural, if any choose to call them so) to bring out results which no previously created nature alone, whether old or new, would ever have produced. Thus regarded, the varied intellectual and emotional temperaments of Isaiah, of Ezekiel, of Paul, and John, are as directly made use of as the hands with which they write, the mouths with which they speak, or the Greek and Hebrew language they employ as the most outward vehicle of their thoughts and emotions."—Pp. 27-32.

(2.) "*The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records stated anew*, with special reference to the Discoveries of Modern Times. In eight lectures, delivered in the Oxford University pulpit, in the year 1859, on the Bampton Foundation, by GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., Late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, editor of the 'History of Herodotus.' From the London edition, with the notes translated, by Rev. A. N. ARNOLD." 12mo., pp. 454. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1860.

In the preparation of this volume, as in the editorship of his Herodotus, lately noticed in our pages, Mr. Rawlinson had the full benefit of the profound archaeological knowledge of his celebrated brother, Sir Henry Rawlinson. We may, therefore, assume that all the results of the laborious researches in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon are fully adduced for the illustration of the sacred volume. In connection with the valuable work of Hengstenberg, "*Egypt and the Books of Moses*," (not forgetting the volume on the same subject by Dr. Francis Hawkes,) we now have, issued from the press of our own country, a body of archaeological lore, exhumed within the last half century, which places the true historical character of the Old Testament records beyond the reach of honest question.

Among the first important results of these researches is the new authentication conferred upon the fragments of Manetho and Berosus, and the sinking of the character of Ctesias. Some of the statements of the last author were standing contradictions to parts of Old Testament History. Corroborations of the Old Testament furnished by the first two authors, hitherto held of no great value, have received a new force. By a few simple principles for disengaging the historical from the mythical, their apparent enormous chronology is retrenched to a reasonable harmony with the Pentateuchal numbers; while the brief statements they furnish accordant with Scripture history are now valid, as so many ancient testimonies to the reality of the Scripture events.

The old objection that writing did not exist in the time of Moses is refuted by abundant facts. The tenth chapter of Genesis is pronounced by Sir Henry Rawlinson our best guide in tracing the affinities of primitive races. Linguistic investigations are approximating to an agreement in unity. At the obscurest parts of Hebrew history, in the times of Joshua and Judges, the condition of surrounding nations, as implied by Hebrew record, accords precisely with the view presented in their annals. The relative condition of Tyre to Israel, the degree of Tyrian power, and the name of Hiram as Tyrian and royal, are well authenticated. Then come the monuments, with the synchronical names of Shishak, Terah the Ethiopian, Jehu, Menahem, Hezekiah, Menasseh, Sennacherib, So, Necho, Tiglath-Pilezer, etc., tracing the descending line of Hebrew history with attestations, none the less conclusive for being incidental and laboriously detected, and indicating, as chance specimens, how complete would be the corroboration could the monument speak as articulately as the sacred page. The accuracy of the geographical allusions, a strong voucher as it is for historical truth, is receiving a large increase of illustration. The uncertainties of the position of some of the most ancient cities of the earliest chapters of Genesis are forever removed. Native inscriptions fix not only the historical reality, but the true locality of Ur of the Chaldees, Calah, and Erech; and with much probability of Accad, Ellasar, and Calneh. "If we were to be guided by the mere intersection of linguistic paths," says Sir H. Rawlinson, "and independently of all reference to the Scriptural record, we should still be led to fix on the plains of Shinar as the focus from which the various lines had radiated."

The work is not only an able and a fresh contribution to the permanent evidences of the authenticity of the Old Testament books, and the truth of their history, but a timely offset against recent attacks upon that part of the inspired canon. To wound the New Testament through the Old was remarked by Paley to be the standing method of infidelity. The ancient method has been reproduced, under a Christian guise, by Rev. Baden Powell and others, at the present day, in England. There is something strikingly synchronical if not providential in these resurrections, from the grave of the buried past, of new evidence for Scripture truth, against the searching skepticism of an ultra-critical age.

The matter of the volume, we are obliged to say, though expressed in graceful style and redolent of refined scholarship, is very crudely shaped. The lectures are produced in a free flowing spoken style; but at every moment

you encounter a little numeral which sends you to another part of the volume for the note containing the dry fact that supports the lecturer's statement. You have as much use for thumb and fingers in fumbling your pages as a tyro working a Hebrew Chrestomathy. It would have improved both the compact structure of the argument and the manual convenience of the volume, could the learned author have followed the example of Faber in his *Horæ Mosaicæ*, by reducing the matter to a symmetrical shape.

- (3.) "*Life of Jesus. A Manual for Academic Study.* By Dr. CARL HASE, Professor of Theology at Jena. Translated from the German of the third and fourth improved editions, by JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE." 12mo., pp. 267. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

Hase is favorably known in America by his *Church History*, translated by Wing and Blumenbach, which, with a rationalistic tinge, is a fine specimen of spirited conciseness, compressing the narration to the most compact form without destroying the life. The present work will possess some interest to students who wish to examine a work of the class proudly claiming to be the final result of a demonstrative criticism; a criticism which has exploded all that precedes in its line, and leaves no choice to the reader but to adopt its conclusions or undergo a consignment to the limbo of the partisans of an obsolete past. This elegant braggartism is expressed by Hase, not, indeed, with the piquancy of similar bravado (unfulfilled!) in the pages of a Voltaire; but with an unusual vivacity for a German, no way bedimmed by the graceful pen of Freeman Clarke. All this simply means that the position from which the author surveys the Gospels is essentially pantheistic; that miracles were, indeed, supposably performed by Jesus; but with a power *somehow*, nobody knows *how*, coming out of mundane nature and resultant from impersonal laws; yet that Christ and Christianity come into existence with a plan and a predestined influence to be exerted upon the world; and yet, again, their coming into existence has been so poorly contrived that their first historical facts are but feebly authenticated, and are so blended with myth and legend that the most scientific criticism, constantly in action upon the earliest historic documents, can but imperfectly succeed in isolating the pure truth from the surrounding dross. To our scanty research, obsolete prejudice, and pietistic bigotry, the little volume is big with contradiction, and bigger with self-complacency. To our measurement the remnant left of the New Testament, of Christ and Christianity, after all its eliminations, is of very trifling value. The polemic between Hase and Straus is a mimic fight between a *minimum* of faith and a *nil*. After surrendering to Straus all that Hase yields, we should not hesitate, *ex abundantia*, to fling in the residue.

- (4.) "*Ishmael; or, A Natural History of Islamism, and its Relation to Christianity.* By the Rev. Dr. J. MUEHLEISEN ARNOLD, formerly Missionary in Asia and Africa, and late Chaplain of St. Mary's Hospital, London. The entire proceeds of this book will be given toward founding a Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Mohammedans." 12mo., pp. 524. London: Rivingtons, Waterloo Place. 1859.

There is a mixture of erudition, dogma, and caprice in this work which give it piquancy, but very materially affects the confidence of the cautious inquirer

after reliable realities in the history, character, and destiny of Islamism. We give a paragraph on the existence of predictions current among the Turks of their own downfall. If these predictions possess no valid origin or character; if they are simply inklings of apocalyptic prophecy which have trickled into Islamism from Christian sources, they are curious, but valueless. If they possess marks of independent character, Mr. Arnold would have obliged the Christian public by giving a more thorough investigation of their genuineness and value. We give them as he presents them :

"The oldest prediction was recorded as early as the year 1548. Another Turkish prophecy more clearly states that the 'fair sons of the North' would be the destroyers of the Osmanic Empire. In A. D. 1678 *Rycant* speaks of a special liking for the Moscovites on the part of the Greeks, because they were destined, according to ancient prophecies, to become their deliverers and avengers. Another prediction says: 'The fair-haired race, with all their associates, will overthrow the Empire of Ishmael, and conquer the seven-hilled city with its imperial privileges. In Jerusalem, the gate on Mount Moriah, toward the Mount of Olives, is walled up, because of the tradition, that whenever a Christian shall pass through that gate, the Moslem religion and empire will go down. Within the mosque of Omar there is said to be a board containing so many nails, which mysteriously disappear one by one; and when all shall have vanished the Moslem rule will come to an end. As another presentiment of their ultimate expulsion from Europe may be mentioned the fact, that the Turks always bury their dead on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. An Austrian savant who has just traveled over Asia Minor a second time, in his work upon *Natural History*, states that the entire Moslem community expect a speedy dissolution of the Turkish Empire, and this upon the ground of ancient traditions. On a Sunday it will happen that the Christians will receive back all that was taken from them by the Moslem. Not only European Turkey, but the whole of Asia Minor, and Syria, with the exception of Damascus, will be restored to the Christians, and Arabia alone will constitute their inheritance. How great will be the change in the position of Islamism when the ruins of the Ottoman Empire shall fill considerable portions of Europe, Asia, and Africa! and how encouraging to the Christian to look forward to the breaking up of the old, and the commencement of the new order of things!"

- (5.) "*Christ in History*. By ROBERT TURNBULL, D. D. New and Revised Edition." 12mo., pp. 340. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

This is a more complete edition of an eloquent and valuable work. It proposes to show, by a comprehensive survey, that the Incarnation is the central event in human history. The range of the author's thought is wide. He brings a thorough and extensive erudition to bear upon his topic. How clearly he impresses the great synoptic outline of his subject upon the mind of his reader we are not so certain. In the copious account of subsidiary detail, if we mistake not, sight is sometimes lost of the structural character of his work. It is, however, as a whole, a rich, a cheerful, a profitable survey of human history in the light reflected from the central person of the Incarnate.

- (6.) "*Lectures on the Book of Revelation*. By REV. C. M. BUTLER, D. D." 12mo., pp. 482. New York: R. Carter & Brothers; Washington: Wm. Ballantyne. 1860.

That copious but shallow improvisator, Dr. Cummings, has first gulped down Elliot's *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, and then poured it forth "in one weak washy everlasting stream" into the unprotected popular mind, with such effect that

we trust Dr. Butler's book may operate as a healthful counteraction. It is written in a fresh, flowing, copious style. Without indorsing all its results, we commend it as a valuable work.

When any commentator takes up the Revelation and commences predicting the result of any great cotemporaneous political event, or the destiny of any great living individual, we always pronounce that an alarming crisis has arrived in his case. His apocalyptic fever is rising to the maniac point, and the patient should be looked to. Ditto when he predicts the year in which any great change, crisis, or convulsion is to occur. He is then perverting the purpose of the book, and sinking to the level of a fortune-teller.

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- (7.) "*Bishop Butler's Ethical Discourses and Essay on Virtue*, arranged as a Treatise on Moral Philosophy, and edited with an Analysis. By J. T. CHAMPLIN, D.D., President of Waterville College." 12mo., pp. 206. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co.; Cleveland, O.: Henry P. B. Jewett; New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859.

- (8.) "*Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion*, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. Edited with an Analysis. By J. T. CHAMPLIN, D.D., President of Waterville College." 12mo., pp. 271. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1860.

These very neat editions of Butler's great works on Morals are constructed, with much skill, by a practical instructor for classic use. Some liberties are taken with the text, which would be held, perhaps, unjustifiable, were it not that Butler's works are perfectly secure from any permanent mutilation. The attention of collegiate faculties may be invited to these volumes.

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- (9.) "*The Concord of Ages; or, The Individual and Organic Harmony of God and Man*. By EDWARD BEECHER, D.D." 12mo., pp. 581. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860.

The amiable character, the pure vein of piety, the independence of Christian thought manifested by Edward Beecher, disarm criticism of much tempted severity. But neither in his "Conflict" or "Concord" do we recognize any power to impress the public mind, or give any permanent turn to the religious or metaphysical speculations of the age.

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- (10.) "*Sermons on Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians*, delivered at Trinity Chapel, Brighton. By the late T. W. ROBERTSON, M.A., the Incumbent. 12mo., pp. 423. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

We do not accept Mr. Robertson's works as containing an accurate statement of theological truths. But there are in it many singular flashes of fresh truth, many a noble view, many a thrilling paragraph, and few pages that are not alive with thoughts that breathe and words that burn.

II. Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

- (11.) "*The Origin of Species by Natural Selection; or, the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*. By CHARLES DARWIN." 12mo., New York: Appleton & Co.

A bright thought, suggested to Mr. Darwin more than twenty years ago, by some phenomena observed by him in South America, formed the awakening

hint for the train of experiments and speculations detailed in this volume. On his return to England, he placed himself in proper conditions for an extensive course of experimentation, observation, and intercourse with naturalists, "fanciers," and breeders, to ascertain the true origin and nature of species. The whole process seems to have been conducted in a philosophic spirit, with such prepossessions, indeed, as an allowable antecedent hypothesis would induce, and resulting in what can be only considered as a debateable theory; yet a theory sustained by a basis of innumerable facts and plausible reasonings; and a theory that challenges discussion and even adoption in absence of refutation or a preferable competitor.

The theory may be stated as follows: All earthly living beings, the whole of animated nature, including man, animals, and vegetable existences, are one great genus, generatively sprung from one primordial origin. What are commonly called genera and species of this universal genus, are but remnant groups, whose intermediates have perished from the unsuitableness of their natures to meet the surrounding conditions of existence. These surviving groups, whose wide dividing spaces have thus been overswept with the besom of destruction, are not divided by any law intended to keep them separate. Different species are prevented from blending, not by any ordinance, but by contingent obstacles which in given cases can be overcome, and thus the fibers of one life, as yet but imperfectly explored, run in a perfectly complex entanglement through the whole universal mass. Man may, therefore, with genetical truth, not say only to the worm "Thou art my brother," but he can claim birth from the same parent as the oak of the floor he treads, or the mahogany of his writing desk.

The book has had of course the hearty indorsement of the Westminster Review; and, not of course, but in fact, of the transcendental and able Unitarian organ, the National Review. Mr. Darwin has had the aid of Dr. Hooker, and he seems to have received the indorsement of Sir Charles Lyell. His book possesses much scientific interest apart from the theory; it is likely to awaken new discussions, and to exert a marked influence upon the course of scientific thought. It is but an outline of a larger work, the preparation of which requires some three years farther labor.

Mr. Darwin's first point is the assertion of the great variability of species. He can accept all the ordinary and orthodox arguments for the variability of the human species, and urge them for his own purpose. He affirms from ample experiments that, under the hand of the skillful breeder, species may be indefinitely varied. The pigeon, for instance, has been made to diverge so widely, that no observer for the first time would hesitate to classify the different varieties under different genera. Individual peculiarities in one animal are generatively transmissible, and by confining propagation between individuals possessing almost any peculiarity, that peculiarity may be made permanent, and thus new species with new qualities are brought into existence. By rejecting or destroying all inferior individuals, and permitting propagation by the superior alone, the breed attains a higher excellence. In the breed of sheep, for instance, it has been remarked, that the breeder can chalk the perfect figure on a surface and bring his breed to its standard. There is then no limit, if time and chance be allowed, to the possible variation of species.

The next point is, that species is transmutable. Conditional obstacles lie in the way of the fertility of hybrids. Natural repugnance, organic injury to the reproductive functions and other contingent difficulties lie in the way. But no law of infertility is imposed upon hybrids for the purpose of preventing the blending of species into an undistinguished whole. Some hybrid plants he has proved by abundant experiment to be perfectly fertile, and some hybrid birds he has reason to believe so. In the long course of ages, then—and he claims the right to assume any assignable amount of time even to a practical eternity for the work—what is possible to happen will happen. Let but a single atom or organism of vitalized matter exist, and it may diverge into an infinite variety of animated beings, forming the present living system of the universe.

But the productive power of nature is found far too great for her sustaining power. For production at its regular geometric rate there is not room. The great battle for existence then commences and the inferiors die. The relentless elements, like the scythe of Siva the Destroyer, send countless millions to destruction. Beings born with peculiarities unsuited to the conditions of existence perish. The slightest disadvantage turns the scale against them, and consigns them to their fate. Thus does destruction create the broad spaces lying between the surviving groups that pass under the name of species. Meanwhile it is the nobler, the more powerful, the best suited in their peculiarities of existence that live and propagate; and thus, it is from these very conditions of destruction that there arises the advance of living nature toward perfection.

To the testimony of geology, that species have been created in great numbers at distant intervals, Mr. Darwin replies by impeaching the completeness of the geologic record. The fossil remains that have been found are a minute fractional part of the infinite multitudes of the dead and buried, never to be found. Those great periodic intervals of geology are simply blanks, produced by our own ignorance and inability to trace the annihilated complements. The spaces between the successive races of geology, like the spaces between specific groups, are simply erasures produced by the powers of destruction.

To meet the force of the argument is a task we leave to the savans; but a few points we shall venture to make.

1. We pencil upon page 223 this distinct admission after more than twenty years' study and experimentation upon the subject. "I doubt whether any case of a perfectly fertile hybrid animal can be considered as thoroughly well authenticated." Now it seems to us here is a fatal want of "a perfectly fertile hybrid animal." Until Mr. Darwin will furnish it, his theory we think lacks the conditions of existence. We can accept no equivocal or impotent quadruped; no *believed* or *guessed* specimens will serve. Until Mr. Darwin has caught us "a perfectly fertile hybrid animal," sound of wind and organ, his theory has nothing safe to ride on. Until then we must accept the following well settled statement of Gabineau. "It has been further observed, that even among closely allied species, where fecundation is possible, copulation is repugnant, and obtained either by force or ruse; which would lead us to suppose that in a state of nature the number of hybrids is even more limited than that obtained by the intervention of man. It has therefore been concluded

that among the *specific* characteristics we must place the faculty of producing prolific offspring."

2. As to Mr. Darwin's fertile hybrid plants, let it be observed that he is able to ascertain no law regulating hybrid fertility. Every imaginable rule is overwhelmed with numerous exceptions, and he is flung upon isolated facts in confessed ignorance of all clew to the principles. But he has found that supposed species have an unknown range of variation; transcending the space hitherto supposed to be covered by genera. That is, classes of animals which a first inspector would suppose to be unrelated or only generically connected, are really within the same genetic species. How knows he, then, that the isolated cases of imagined fertile hybrids may not be by immemorial descent within the limits of species falsely supposed to be genera or unrelated? How knows he that the supposed hybrids are not the legitimate children of cognate parents? Perhaps, after all, the case is under the law that circumscribes fertility within the bounds of species.

3. From the geological quarter it would seem that Mr. Darwin's theory must be forever indemonstrable. It is by the geological record alone that the successive advances of existence in past ages can be shown. That record, so far as it testifies, gives a negative testimony; asserting that new forms of life have been brought into existence suddenly, at great intervals, and accordantly with a great transcendental plan. Mr. Darwin invalidates the negative testimony; but that seems insufficient. He wants the *positive testimony* before he can bring his theory from hypothesis to science. But, if we mistake not, it will be found that Professor Owen will have something to say why the testimony of paleontology should not be so unceremoniously ruled out of court. Perhaps, also, Professor Agassiz may yet have something to show for the independent existence of species. We apprehend there will be found abundant truth in Mr. Darwin's despondent remark, p. 403: "That the geological record is imperfect all will admit; but that it is imperfect to the degree which I require, few will be inclined to admit."

4. Mr. Darwin supposes that, "probably, all organic beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from some one primordial form, into which life was first breathed." "Form into which life was first breathed"? But that is a miracle; a most stupendous miracle; a direct interposition of a creative power. The Edinburgh Review, we believe it was, that first brought into the English language, some thirty years ago, the great thought that the greatest miracle ever performed on earth, was upon the day that man first walked upon it in the full possession of his created nature. Now Mr. Darwin's miracle, though at first sight less objectively stupendous, is really a greater stroke of power, a more momentous interposition, than the organization of a new living fabric, (which Mr. Darwin promptly scouts,) with a vitality already manifested on earth. Minuter as it may be, nay, invisible to the eye corporeal, it is immeasurably more a miracle to the eye of reason. Let our readers note in this connection the remarks of Professor Dana upon spontaneous generation in our notice of the Scientific Annual, and judge whether Mr. Darwin makes a safe bargain in putting off an immediate creation of an organic man in exchange for a supply, at one instant, of a life sufficient for the start of a universal system.

The difference between Mr. Darwin and the author of "The Vestiges of Creation," as stated by the Westminster, is, that the latter found the solution of the diversity of the forms of organic life "in the idea of consecutive development;" while Lamarek made transmutation depend mainly on the efforts of the animal.

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- (12.) "*Evenings at the Microscope* ; or, Researches among the minuter Forms of Animal Life. By PHILIP HENRY GOSSE, F.R.S." 12mo., pp. 480. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

Mr. Gosse is not only a profound naturalist, but a most vivid describer and writer. He unites great skill in practical analysis with rare pictorial power of pen. Let books like this be put into the hands of our youth, and the right-minded portion of young America will learn that there are wonders in nature infinitely surpassing in splendor and witchery the visions of fairy romance. The staple of the work consists of original observation, and it is invested with a characteristic freshness and life. We give as a fair specimen the opening paragraphs :

"Not many years ago an eminent microscopist received a communication inquiring whether, if a minute portion of dried skin were submitted to him, he could determine it to be *human* skin or not. He replied that he thought he could. Accordingly a very minute fragment was forwarded to him, somewhat resembling what might be torn from the surface of an old trunk, with all the hair rubbed off.

"The professor brought his microscope to bear upon it, and presently found some fine hairs scattered over the surface; after carefully examining which, he pronounced with confidence that they were *human* hairs, and such as grow on the naked parts of the body; and still further, that the person who owned them was of a fair complexion.

"This was a very interesting decision, because the fragment of skin was taken from the door of an old church in Yorkshire; in the vicinity of which a tradition is preserved, that about a thousand years ago a Danish robber had violated this church, and having been taken, was condemned to be flayed, and his skin nailed to the church-door, as a terror to evil-doers. The action of the weather and other causes had long ago removed all traces of the stretched and dried skin, except that, from under the edges of the broad-headed nails with which the door was studded, fragments still peeped out. It was one of these atoms, obtained by drawing one of the nails, that was subjected to microscopical scrutiny; and it was interesting to find that the wonder-showing tube could confirm the tradition with the utmost certainty; not only in the general fact, that it was really the skin of man, but in the special one of the race to which that man belonged, namely, one with fair complexion and light hair, such as the Danes are well known to possess."

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- (13.) "*Archæia* ; or, Studies of the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures. By J. W. DAWSON, LL. D., Principal of McGill College, author of 'Acadian Geology, etc.'" 12mo., pp. 400. Montreal: B. Dawson & Son. 1860.

Dr. Dawson takes a high rank among the savans of our day, and whatever he gives to the public challenges attention and respect. The present work is the product of profound scholarship in both the natural and the sacred records. We are inclined to think that it presents, not only the most ingenious, but the most satisfactory harmony between the two records, if, indeed, in the perpetually recurring changes of the statements of science at the present day, any

scheme of harmony whatever can be considered satisfactory. He adopts the æonic day theory; but varies his adjustment of the two records, which we present below, somewhat from that of Hugh Miller.

PARALLELISM OF THE SCRIPTURAL COSMOGONY WITH THE ASTRONOMICAL AND GEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE EARTH.

BIBLICAL ÆONS.	PERIODS DEDUCED FROM SCIENTIFIC CONSIDERATIONS.
The Beginning.	Creation of Matter.
<i>First Day.</i> —Earth mantled by the Vaporous Deep—Production of Light.	Condensation of Planetary Bodies from a nebulous mass—Hypothesis of original incandescence.
<i>Second Day.</i> —Earth covered by the Waters.—Formation of the Atmosphere.	Primitive Universal Ocean, and establishment of Atmospheric equilibrium.
<i>Third Day.</i> —Emergence of Dry Land—Introduction of Vegetation.	Elevation of the land which furnished the materials of the Azoic rocks—Azoic Period of Geology.
<i>Fourth Day.</i> —Completion of the arrangements of the Solar System.	Metamorphism of Azoic rocks and disturbances preceeding the Cambrian epoch—Dominion of "Existing Causes" begins.
<i>Fifth Day.</i> —Invertebrates and Fishes, and afterward great Reptiles and Birds created.	Palaeozoic Period—Reign of Invertebrates and Fishes. Mesozoic Period—Reign of Reptiles
<i>Sixth Day.</i> —Introduction of Mammals—Creation of Man and Edenic Group of Animals.	Tertiary Period—Reign of Mammals. Post Tertiary—Existing Mammals and Man.
<i>Seventh Day.</i> —Cessation of Work of Creation—Fall and Redemption of Man.	Period of Human History.
<i>Eighth Day.</i> —New Heavens and Earth to succeed the Human Epoch—"The Rest (Sabbath) that remains to the People of God." ^o	

The Appendix contains a number of valuable scientific extracts and fragments, inserted for their bearing upon the Scripture records. We select the following passage in which Dr. Dawson applies his American researches to check the rapid conclusions of the European savans in regard to the Abbeville exhumations:

"The objects found are here admitted to differ from the implements of the primitive Celts, and they differ in like manner from those of the American Indians, which are almost if not quite undistinguishable from those of ancient Europe and Asia. One at least of the kinds mentioned has scarcely a semblance of artificial form, and the others are all merely fractured, not ground or polished.

^o Heb. iv, 9; 2 Peter iii, 13.

In so far as one can judge, without actually inspecting the specimens, these appear to be fatal defects in their claim to be weapons. The observers have evidently not taken into consideration the effects of intense frost in splitting flinty and jaspery stones. It is easy to find, among the debris of the jasper veins of Nova Scotia, for instance, abundance of ready-made arrow-heads and other weapons; and there is every reason to believe that the Indians, and perhaps the aboriginal Celts also, sought for and found those naturally split stones which gave them the least trouble in the manufacture, just as they selected beach pebbles of suitable forms for anchors, pestles, and hammers, and hard slates with oblique joints for knives. To these natural forms, however, the savage usually adds a little polishing, notching, or other adaptation; and this seems to be wanting in the greater part of the specimens from Abbeville.

"2. Nothing is more difficult, especially in an uneven country, than to ascertain the extent to which old gravels have been rearranged by earthquake waves or land floods. Nor does the occurrence in them of bones of extinct animals prove anything, since these are shifted with the gravel. Very careful and detailed observations of the locality would be required to attain any certainty on this point.

"3. The places in which gravel pits are dug, are often just those to which the aborigines are likely to have resorted for their supply of flint weapons. They may have burrowed in the gravel for that purpose, and their pits may have been subsequently filled up. Farther, savages generally make their implements as near as possible to the places where they procure the raw material; and in making flint weapons, where the material abounds, they reject without scruple all except those that are most easily worked into form. If of human origin at all, the so-called weapons of Abbeville are more like such rejectamenta than perfected implements. This would also account for the quantity found, which would otherwise seem to be inconsistent with the supposition of human workmanship.

"4. The circumstance that no bones or other remains referable to man have been found with the flint articles, is more in accordance with the suppositions stated above, than with that of their human origin, in any other way than as the rejectamenta of an ancient manufacture.

"5. From a summary of the facts given by Sir Charles Lyell at the late meeting of the British Association, (1859,) as the result of personal investigations, it appears that the gravels in question are *fluvial* and dependent on the present valley of the Somme, though still apparently of very great antiquity. This places the subject in an entirely different position from that in which it was left by Perthes and Prestwick. River gravels are often composed of older debris, reassorted in a comparatively short time, and containing tertiary remains intermixed with those that are modern; and it is usually quite impossible to determine their age with certainty. Farther, if we may judge from American rivers, those of France must, when the country was covered with forests, have been much larger than at present; and at the same time their annual freshets must have been smaller, so that nothing is more natural than that remains of the savage aborigines should be found in beds now far removed from the action of the rivers. When to this we add the occurrence at intervals of great river inundations, we cannot, without a series of investigations bearing on the effects of all these changes, allow any great antiquity to be claimed for such deposits. The subject is, in short, in such a condition at present that nothing can with safety be affirmed with respect to it."

We append also the following passage:

"Should the objects found in this case prove to be really products of art, and their position be certainly in the pleistocene drift, cotemporary with the extinct Elephant, Rhinoceros, Hyena, etc., of the west of Europe, then we might with certainty conclude—First, that the race by which these implements were made existed at a period immeasurably more ancient than any assigned even by Bunsen's new chronology, or the myths of Egypt or China, to the human species; and secondly, that this race is not at all connected with biblical or historical man, but must be an extinct species of anthropoid animal, belonging to a prior geological period. That there cannot have been any such species before man,

and sufficiently intelligent to make flint weapons, I am not prepared to maintain; but I do not regard the evidence adduced as at all sufficient to establish its existence, still less to carry back the human species to a period rendered even geologically improbable by the lapse of time, and the extinction of nearly all the land-animals in the mean time."

We can name no more valuable work on its subject than the present volume.

- (14.) "*Annual of Scientific Discovery*: or, Year-book of Facts in Science and Art for 1860. Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc., together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the year 1859; a List of recent Scientific Publications; Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A.M., author of *Principles of Natural Philosophy*, *Principles of Chemistry*, *Science of Common Things*, etc." 12mo., pp. 430. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard; London: Trubner & Co. 1860.

We have repeatedly adverted to the high value of the *Scientific Annual*, both as a matter of reference to the man of science, and as a means of *posting up* for those who stand without the scientific circle, but desire to keep step with the advances of scientific progress.

Two points of special interest have been under discussion during the past year, namely: The Preadamite antiquity of Man, and Spontaneous Generation.

The doubts in regard to the modern origin of the human race are founded upon late geographical developments and especially the discovery of certain rude weapons, as they are considered, in the neighbourhood of Abbeville and Amiens, France. What an American savan thinks upon the subject will be found in our notice of Dr. Dawson's *Archaia*.

The doctrine of Spontaneous Generation is discussed with ingenuity by a philosopher somewhat prone to materialistic tendencies, Mr. George Henry Lewes; but his results are decidedly adverse to all conclusions deduced from experiments hitherto made. So liable to error are experiments made upon things so minute as the subjects of these experiments are, so uniformly have all imagined successes in these experiments proved failures, that a negative demonstration is well nigh attained. Besides this fact, the following acute remarks of Professor Dana, of Yale College, afford some positive views that may be considered as setting this question very much at rest:

"There is a well-known principle in the system of nature that deserves to be considered in this connection. The principle is so fully sustained by all research, both in chemistry and zoology, including the important experiments above mentioned, that it may well carry with it great weight, and quiet both apprehension and expectation on this subject. It is this: The forces in life and inorganic nature act in opposite directions—the former *upward*, the latter *downward*.

"The vital force, in the organic substances it forms, *ascends* through vegetable and animal life to an exalted height in the scale of compounds at an extreme remove from saturation with oxygen; inorganic force *descends* toward the saturated oxide. The former reaches a point which from its very elevation is one of great *instability*; the latter tends toward one of perfect *stability*. There is hence a counterpart or cyclical relation between the two great lines of action in nature.

"As some readers of these remarks may not be familiar with chemistry, a further word of explanation is added.

"When an element unites with its full allowance of oxygen, as determined by its affinities, it is in a sense saturated with it. Since the attraction of the elements for oxygen is the most universal, and, in general, the strongest in nature, the oxides as a class are the most stable of compounds; the rocks, the earth's foundations, are made of them. But evanescence and unceasing change are in the fundamental idea of the living structure; and, consequently, the material of the plant or animal contains only oxygen enough to give increased stability to the combination. Moreover, the compounds augment in instability, through this and other ways, with the rise in the grade of organic life, and reach probably their farthest extreme in this respect in the brain. Here, then, is the summit of the series of compounds which arise under the agency of life. The stable oxide is at the lower end of the series in nature, the material of the brain at the upper. Passing from the latter condition toward the former, is therefore a real descent; and it is the natural downward course of inorganic forces; while passing toward the latter is as truly an ascent; it is the counter-movement of life.

"The plant through its vital functions may take carbonic acid, and from it continue to elaborate the organic products constituting vegetable fiber, until a whole tree of such material is made, and then produce the higher material of the flower and seed. The animal may then go to the plants and use them in making a still higher class of products, muscular fiber and nerve. After all this is done, now turn over the material to the action of chemical and physical forces, and the work of years of life is soon pulled down from its height, and one part after another descends toward that state of comparative inactivity, the condition of an oxide. Chemistry makes organic products by commencing with those of a higher grade than the kind to be made, but not otherwise. Albumen is a prominent material of the egg; and chemistry has not succeeded in making dead albumen, much less living.

"The very relation of life to chemistry is therefore evidence that chemistry cannot make life; it works in just the reverse direction. And in this reciprocal relation one of the profoundest laws of nature is exhibited. It leads the mind to recognize one author for both, and not to imagine that one side in the cycle has generated the other.

"2. There is another consideration, which, if it has not the force of demonstration, may help the mind to understand the extent of the transition from dead matter to living.

"(a.) In ordinary *inorganic* composition, there is the simple formation of inorganic particles, and, on consolidation, their aggregation into crystals, the perfect individuals of inorganic nature. With the enlargement of the crystal there is no gain of new powers or qualities: it simply exists. In fact, in entering this state of perfection, there is a *loss of latent force*; for the gas is the highest condition of stored or magazined force in inorganic nature, the liquid the next, and the solid the lowest,—this condition of power being related directly to the amount of heat.

"(b.) The *plant* grows from its germ, enlarges, accumulates force, storing it away in vegetable fiber, and accomplishes its highest functions in its blossoms and fruit. But there is here only *latent or stored force* generated, besides that which is used up in growth, and *no mechanical force*. The minute spore or reproductive cellule of some seaweeds has locomotive power, but it is lost at the commencement of germination; and the plant is ever after as incapable of self-locomotion as a rock.

"(c.) In the *animal*, there is not only a storing of force in animal products, (the fifth and highest grade of stored force in nature,) but there is also increasing *mechanical force* from the first beginning of development. It is almost or quite zero in the germ; but from this it goes on increasing, until, in the horse, it gets to be a one-horse power; or in the ant, a one-ant power; and so for each species. And in addition to mechanical force, there is, in the higher group, the more exalted *mental force*; for the mind, while not itself material, is yet so dependent on the material, that its action draws deeply upon the energies

of the body. To make an animal germ is, then, to make a particle of albuminoid substance that will grow and spontaneously develop a powerful piece of machinery, and continue a system of such generations through ages of reproduction. The creation of any such animal germ out of dead carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, and oxygen, or any of their dead compounds, is therefore opposed to all known action or law of chemical forces; and as much so, the creation of a vegetable germ from inorganic elements. Moreover, it is seen that the two kingdoms, the vegetable and animal, have their specific limits and comprehensive reciprocal relations, and are obviously embraced as parts of one idea in a single primal plan: not a plan involving the generation of one out of the other, or of either out of inorganic nature, but of the three, through some Creating Power higher than all."—Pp. 399-401.

- (15.) "*The Intuitions of the Mind*, inductively investigated. By the Rev. JAMES M'COSH, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Queen's College, Belfast, 'Author of *Method of Divine Government*,' etc." 8vo., pp. 504. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

The rapid perusal allowed us by the late arrival of this work induces us to pronounce it one of the most valuable productions in metaphysics which has for years issued from the press. It mounts with a bold and free wing into the highest department of metaphysical thought. No department is so important to a true philosophy, so difficult of clear and sober explanation, so rife with the illusions and errors of past explorers, as the Intuitions. To analyze their distinctive characteristics, demonstrate their reality, and verify the objective validity of their affirmations, is a great work hitherto imperfectly or unsafely done. Unless this be accomplished, satisfactorily and conclusively, the danger is, we believe, imminent, that the philosophic mind will within the next quarter of a century, relapse into the sensationalism of Alexander Bain, with the positivism of Comte; results for which the theories of Sir William Hamilton and Professor Mansel are a fitting preparation. Our present impression is, that no contribution to the ascertainment of a true Intuitional philosophy (not a *transcendental*) has yet appeared at once so bold, so modest, so sober, and so successful as this volume.

III.—History, Biography, and Topography.

- (16.) "*The Puritans*; or, The Church, Court, and Parliament of England during the Reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. By SAMUEL HOPKINS." 8vo., pp. 539. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1860.

This, the SECOND of the THREE volumes of this great work, extends from the Parliament of 1575-6 to the Parliament of 1584-5.

- (17.) "*A Trip to Cuba*. By JURIA WAID HOWE." 12mo., pp. 251. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

Whoso travels with Mrs. Howe, herein, to Cuba, may like his company better than his destination. A quick-sighted observer, a good-natured satirist of the many tempting vulnerabilities she meets, a graceful, flowing writer, she unfolds so much free-spoken truth that one leaves Cuba gladly, but closes her book regretfully.

- (18.) "*Memorials of Methodism in New Jersey, from the Foundation of the First Society in the State, in 1770, to the Completion of the first Twenty Years of its History; containing Sketches of the Ministerial Labors, Distinguished Laymen, and prominent Societies of that period.* By Rev. JOHN ATKINSON, of the Newark Annual Conference." 12mo., pp. 435. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1860.

New Jersey has a distinguished revolutionary history in State, and the pages of these memorials may show a fitting counterpart in Church. The thanks of our religious community are due to Mr. Atkinson, both for the enterprise he has shown in rescuing the evanescent reminiscences of earlier days, and the interesting manner in which he has discharged his task. The work will be highly acceptable, both as a memorial for its own special section, and as an added chapter to our general Church history.

IV.—Politics, Law, and General Morals.

- (19.) "*The Constitutional Powers of the General Conference. With a Special Application to the Subject of Slaveholding.* By WILLIAM L. HARRIS." 16mo., pp. 156. Cincinnati: Printed by the Methodist Book Concern. 1860.

The large share of this argument by Dr. Harris appeared originally in our Advocates, and its signal ability and apparent conclusiveness attracted general attention. In its present form it is one of the ablest constitutional documents that has ever appeared in our ecclesiastical history; reading very much like one of John Marshall's decisions, leaving nothing further to be said on either side. We trust that every member of the next General Conference will give it a thorough consideration. In its present unanswered condition it is in great danger of settling the opinion of the Church on the topic it discusses.

- (20.) "*The Guilt of Slavery and the Crime of Slaveholding demonstrated from the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures.* By Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Puritans." 12mo., pp. 472. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1860.

The "Bible Argument" again. It is here instituted by Dr. Cheever afresh and fundamentally. He has apparently laid out the best of his powerful intellect in showing that no justification of the slaveholder is to be found in the record. Those who wish an exhaustive analysis of the subject will do well to consult this volume.

- (21.) "*Christian Duty in regard to American Slavery.* A Sermon preached in the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church on Sabbath morning, December 11, 1859, by Rev. J. T. CRANE, D.D., Pastor." 12mo., pp. 22. Jersey City: R. B. Kashow. 1860.

To Dr. Crane will historically belong, we believe, the honor of breaking the silence, so far as publication shows, of his ecclesiastical section upon a subject occupying an important place in the Methodist Discipline, though excluded from many a Methodist pulpit. The tone of the sermon is temperate, careful to disarm censure, yet firm in assuming slavery to be sin, and inferring the consequent

duty of American Christians upon the subject. It will have a happy effect in showing that the subject may be dealt with in a calm yet decided manner, even on ground supposed to be forbidden; as well as in calming the fears of many nervous anticipators of damage if the truth on the subject be touched.

V.—*Educational.*

- (22.) "*Great Facts.* A Popular History and Description of the most Remarkable Inventions during the Present Century. By FREDERIC C. BAKEWELL. Illustrated." 12mo., pp. 307. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

The Great Facts of the present volume include the mechanical inventions of the age. We have a good account of steam engineering, photography, dissolving views, the kaleidoscope, the magic disc, the diorama, the stereoscope, the electric telegraph, the electro-magnetic clock, electro-metallurgy, gas lighting, the electric light, lithography, aerated waters, revolvers, centrifugal pumps, tubular bridges, self-acting engines, and some others. We know not where a more excellent popular statement of the "great facts" of modern invention is to be found.

- (23.) "*Self-Help.* With Illustrations of Character and Conduct. By SAMUEL SMILES." 12mo., pp. 363. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

The object of this work is forcibly to impress upon the young mind the importance of forming energetic character. If popularity is a test of success in its aim, it is a valuable work; as some twelve thousand copies have been sold in a brief time.

- (24.) "*Self-Education; or, the Means and Art of Moral Progress.* Translated from the French of M. LE BARON DEGERANDO. By ELIZABETH P. PEABODY." 12mo., pp. 468. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1860.

We have here a standard work by an eminent French author upon an all-important subject. It has long been before the American public, and has received the approval of the best minds of the age. The call for repeated editions is a favorable omen of our times.

VI.—*Belles-Lettres and Classics.*

- (25.) "*The Fool of Quality; or, the History of Henry, Earl of Moreland.* By HENRY BROOKE, Esq. A new and revised Edition, with an introduction by the Rev. W. P. STRICKLAND, D.D., and a Biographical Preface by the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, A.M. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859.

THE charm of the story of this book lies in its simplicity and humanity. It seeks to portray from early childhood to early manhood one who should oppose all conventionalities that involve any obliquity of morals, and neglect those that are merely useless fashions, while he should carefully cultivate all the natural virtues of body and soul. Hence when a boy of five years he excels all his

playmates in leaping and fighting, as well as in honesty, affection, and indifference to rank and applause. Through all his youth his physical prowess is similarly shown; and even on his wedding day, just before he goes to church, he runs out on the lawn and before his admiring tenants and associates, and to the exceeding risk of his bridegroom apparel, he leaps over a cord stretched upon ten feet poles, as if to show that the usual agitations of that unusual event had not affected his superb muscular energy and elasticity. He is innocent of all fear of ghosts and graves, and the practical jokes with which the nerves of children are tried, and often ruined, are spoiled by his unconscious courage.

While yet a lad, he is stolen from his father by a rich uncle, who wishes to train him in a model manner, and who is set before us as endowed with fabulous graces. With him he stays till his eighteenth year, spending great sums in systematic charities, and gaining, with much good sense and benevolence, a very inferior education in books, a very finished one in gymnastics. By the usual course of novels since the world began, he is led to his earldom and marriage, which latter is made with a princess of Morocco, whose mother, the empress, happens to be the daughter of this famous uncle, and whose father, the emperor, abdicates his throne that he may live near his new-found and new-made relatives. This preposterous marvel, with which the book closes, is almost equaled by several similar Aladinisms in previous pages. So far as much of its incident is concerned, therefore, it is totally unworthy of a place beside the great masters of modern fiction, who have wisely abandoned all the clap-trap of the supernatural and the unnatural, the old fashioned stage scenery of the romance, to the spiritualist fanatics.

Its style has no higher claims than its narrative. It is simple, straightforward, easy, having the common-place qualities of common-place minds. Here and there a neatly framed expression, or an earnest climax, show the effort at art, but even these have no glow of immortality upon them. None of the simple elegance of the Vicar of Wakefield, none of the rare felicities of expression that shine through Fielding, as stars through heavy clouds, none of the exquisite sweetness of rhythm and fancy which makes the page of Gray glow with the rich and solemn hues of an autumn sunset, give life to its pages. With such artists in words as these for his cotemporaries, and with Pope and Swift, Addison and Sterne, for his immediate predecessors, it is somewhat surprising that so little of their skill appears here, especially when both his admirers say he was their pupil and companion. It may have been a part of his plan; for his *Gustavus Vasa*, a tragedy published in 1739, is pronounced by Horace Walpole to be "a most dainty performance." (Letters, vol. i, p. 134.) He may have thought his defense of the simple traits and duties of man ought not to be made in coined phrase, but should be as unadorned as the virtues it advocates. He should have remembered, however, that whatever outlives the occasion that called it forth, must have the crystallization of a symmetrical and living style. The book that is for all ages and natures, surpasses all its human types in this as well as in every other infinite excellence. We consider the lack of these graces to arise from a want of power to create them, and hence, cannot give the book any such place as the *Fairy Queen* occupies

in respect to art of construction or of expression. They can no more be compared than a potato and a lily. One feeds the body with cheap, though nutritious diet; the other feeds soul and body with its rare perfections.

As much of the story is preposterous and much of the style is slovenly, it remains that what won the regard of Mr. Wesley, and has won the more vehement and indiscriminate affection of Mr. Kingsley, is the object, the tone, or the religion of the book. Its object is reformatory. Probably it is in this department the pioneer novel of an innumerable progeny. It discourses, in its essays as well as its narratives, of prison discipline, true and false modes of education, treatment of the poor, internal commerce, by making the rivers of England navigable, and various other matters then unthought of by the public mind, but which have long since absorbed the attention of England and the civilized world. No great public man of that age would drink into these theories and projects so eagerly as John Wesley, the greatest reformer as well as religionist of his time. And Mr. Kingsley's ardor in that yet unaccomplished warfare would make this first call of the trumpet to this contest ring joyfully in his ears.

Its tone too is such as would attract these men. It is eminently manly. It has that bold, dashing ring that would be especially pleasing to the pluck of a man like Mr. Wesley, by far the most vigorous and courageous man of his day, and would be equally so, perhaps, to Mr. K., whose habit of connecting wrestling, (not of the Jacob sort,) boxing, and the other exercises of the sporting school with the service of Christ, has given him and his associate religionists in England the pleasant nickname of "Muscular Christians." Henry, Earl of Moreland was truly a muscular Christian, in so far as a love of athletic amusements was concerned. This, with his hatred of pretense and pomposity, of falsehood and fashion, made him dear to the great, simple heart of Wesley, and has made his new admirer call him from his quiet grave of a century.

In respect to his doctrines, we find a view advocated by Mr. Kingsley which is far from an honest expression of the theology of the book. And we are sorry to see this broad church heresy recopied into the note of the American editor, not only without comment, but with apparent commendation. It is the fling at Evangelical theology on the forty-fifth page of the English preface, and quoted on the fifth page of the American. With an appearance of piety and liberality such as that school always assumes when about to make a deadly thrust, he sneers at the great and solemn truths of the word of God, "the Spurgeonism" as he calls it, without his Calvinism, but with his tremendous realization of the great duty and danger of man, which puts to shame all the poetic vivacity of such gossellers as this school. These dreamers substitute their strengthless fire-mists for the solid earth of Bible truth, with its quenchless volcanoes no less than its Damascus gardens, its pits of darkness as well as heights of glory.

Mr. Brooke is guilty of no such softness. He paints the true process of conversion in the experience of Mr. Meekly. He discourses on the nature and necessity of the new birth through the lips of Mr. Clinton. He is everywhere boldly evangelical. His evangelism, it is true, is of the Methodistic stamp—universal atonement, the infinite and eternal love of God not only

over the freely eternally holy, but over those freely and eternally sinning, over whose hopeless, because voluntary, state, he bends, ever loving, though ever punishing,

"Love watching madness with unalterable mien."

It was this Arminian statement of the universality of the love of God and the mode in which it awoke to life in the soul of man, that drew Wesley to its pages. It was, probably, the first offspring of his preaching, born into belles lettres—a literary child of Methodism, bringing its doctrines and practices into new regions, and being the forerunner of a great multitude of poets, philosophers, and novelists that have from this urn drawn light. II.

(26.) "*Poems* by SIDNEY DOBELL." 24mo., pp. 544. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

Sidney Dobell, whose power as a poet can scarcely be questioned, but the quality of whose productions has been a subject of great critical debate in England, was born in 1824, and descends from one of the most ancient families in England. His principal poem, "The Roman," a drama in which his varied peculiarities and powers are most copiously displayed, was received by the reading and critical public with an unbounded and unanimous applause. Since that publication his reputation has undergone a variety of very rapid transitions. Still in the meridian of his manly powers, it may be trusted that he will yet place his name beyond the reach of question. We say this in spite of the intimation that Mr. Dobell is now meditating the project of inaugurating "a new and nobler organization of Christianity." The identity of bard and prophet has long since ceased. Whatever may be Mr. Dobell's capabilities as a poet, or the brilliancy of his literary genius, it is not of such material as his that God makes, or man accepts, a religious founder.

Mr. Dobell belongs to the class of *reposeless* poets. His feeling is all excitement; his colors are all glare. From end to end of his pieces every inert syllable is excluded, and every line is strained to its utmost tension. There is what we may call a great predominance of *will*, imposing its energetic pressure upon every thought and emotion, propelling them to their utmost intensity. That same *will* exerts itself in eluding every ordinary form or track of thought and expression, and aiming at a ceaseless unexpectedness, an incessant surprise. It plies its utmost wing to soar wholly within the domain of the hitherto unsaid and unthought. It is the sad destiny of the aspiring poet of our day, that the entire range of natural emotions, imageries, and intellections in their natural expression has been already gone over by a series of unsurpassable masters; so that he is tempted to abandon the area of the simple natural, and by determinate resolution go out in quest of a new natural. In this quest he is borne down with twin difficulties. The first is, that there is no distant sphere of nature, and that his tireless wing can only buoy us through the regions of the *unnatural*, where we may be briefly excited with the strangeness of our surroundings, and struck with the power of wings that transports us; but the home-sick heart soon tires, and pants for its native airs and sceneries. The second difficulty is, that *WILL* is *essentially unpoetical*. *Emotion*, pure and

spontaneous, is the inmost circle of the poetic; this is concentrically encircled by the outer rim of *imagination*; around this, *intellection* circumscribes a court of the Gentiles. But *will* is prosaic; and the moment it appears, there is a wiry edge in the melody. Now in Mr. Dobell's poetry this wiry edge, this sharp metallic ring, too seldom leaves us. We acknowledge the richness of his imagination, the depth of his emotion, the nerve of his language, the fertility of his invention; but—but, Mr. Dobell, let us loose! we sigh for the free, fresh air of our own home nature. Give us the emotions, not that are propelled, but that gently yet grandly swell up by their own spontaneous tide.

A number of Mr. Dobell's smaller pieces are pure vocal rhapsody. They are merely a rhythmical succession of exciting words, expressive of no thought and only communicating emotion to our minds as the vocality of one animal communicates impression to the mind of another. A very little, but the less the better, we can endure of tantarra like the following, which is but a slight specimen from a great abundance:

"High over the breakers,
Low under the lea,
Sing ho
The billow
And the lash of the rolling sea!"

One piece consists mainly from end to end of the repeated line, "O the wold, the wold!" A large number of passages are apparently intended to be the vociferous expression of animal glee, possessing about as much of the element of meaning and poetry (though less of popular immortality) as

"Ding, dong, bell,
The pussy's in the well," etc.

And now that our criticisms have been rather sharp upon our poet, let us allow him to vindicate himself with a sample or two of what he can perform in his better strain. The following stanzas, in "The Roman," are the strain in which the insurgent Milanese celebrate the man who shall first die in their cause:

"Chanted in song, and remember'd in story,
Sunk but to rise—like the sun in the wave—
Grandly the fallen shall sleep in his glory,
Proudly his country shall weep at his grave,
And hallow, like relics, each clod where there ran
The blood of that hero who died for Milan!

"Holy his name shall be, blest by the brave and free,
Kept like a saint's-day, the hour when he died!
The mother that bore him, the maid that bends o'er him
Shall weep, but the tears shall be rich tears of pride.
Shout, brothers, shout for the first falling man,
Shout for the gallant that dies for Milan!

"Long, long years hence by the home of his truth,
His fate, beaming eyes yet unborn shall bedew,
Beloved of the lovely, while beauty and youth
Shall give their best sighs to the brave and the true!
On spears! spur cavaliers! Victory our van,
Fame sounds the trumpet that sounds for Milan!"

Nor must we omit the following noble sonnet to our land:

"AMERICA.

"Nor force nor fraud shall sunder us! O ye
Who north or south, on east or western land,
Native to noble sounds, say truth for truth,
Freedom for freedom, love for love, and God
For God; O ye who in eternal youth
Speak with a living and creative flood
This universal English, and do stand
Its breathing book; live worthy of that grand
Heroic utterance—parted, yet a whole;
Far, yet unsevered—children brave and free
Of the great Mother-tongue, and ye shall be
Lords of an empire wide as Shakspeare's soul,
Sublime as Milton's immemorial theme,
And rich as Chaucer's speech, and fair as Spencer's dream."

From the "Sonnets on the War" in the Crimea, full as they are of a gentle and humane piety, we select the following:

"HOME, IN WAR-TIME.

"She turned the fair page with her fairer hand—
More fair and frail than it was wont to be—
O'er each remembered thing he loved to see
She lingered, and as with a fairy's wand
Enchanted it to order. Oft she fanned
New motes into the sun; and as a bee
Sings through a brake of bells, so murmured she,
And so her patient love did understand
The reliquary room. Upon the sill
She fed his favorite bird. "Ah, Robin, sing!
He loves thee." Then she touches a sweet string
Of soft recall, and toward the Eastern hill
Smiles all her soul—for him who cannot hear
The raven croaking at his carrion ear."

(27.) "*Sunny Hours*: consisting of Poems on Various Subjects. By J. W. CARHART." 12mo., pp. 231. New York: Pudney & Russell, Printers. 1859.

This little volume, from the hand of a youthful aspirant, is the product of hours of interval amid the duties of a sacred calling. The time was not unworthily spent. The poems are not without poetry. The versification is easy and sustained; the command of language free and copious; the imagery natural, sometimes fresh and bold. The subjects and the thoughts are never unsuitable to the purest religious character. Of faults, merely mechanical and susceptible of avoidance, we may specify colloquial contractions like "I'm," "he's," and "that's." The two following specimen stanzas, not much above the average, may not be unworthy to succeed the extracts we have made from poets of more distant regions and more proud pretensions:

FLOWERS.

"Have flowers a spirit? They seem to possess
A power my bosom to move;
They seem to be pleased with a gentle caress,
Oft seem as if really in love.

They never can hate—they are often abused—
 Or many their hatred would know ;
 But over the hand that would crush them they weep,
 And the fragrance of heart-pardon throw.

"I look at their leaflets, so downy and bright,
 With deeper or delicate hue—
 Their sweet little dresses all gilded with light,
 Or honey'd-lips moistened with dew ;
 They fondly return the fond look that I give,
 They cannot be strangers to bliss !
 Then each little beauty I press to my lips,
 And will you believe it? *they kiss!*"

- (28.) "*Lectures on the English Language*, by GEORGE P. MARSH. 8vo., pp. 697. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860.

The corporation of Columbia College, in the year 1858, established Post-graduate Lectures in various branches of education, to the delivery of which gentlemen of high standing in those departments were selected. Very brief reports of the Lectures appeared in the daily papers, which attracted the attention of intellectual readers. The sketches of Mr. Marsh's performances were in particular indicative that rare treats were furnished to the audiences who had the privilege of attendance. Given to the public as embodied in this magnificent volume, they furnish one of the noblest contributions to the analysis of our language that our literature possesses. Mr. Marsh's reputation in this department has long been eminent; his researches have been known to be profound, but his modes of analysis are felicitous, his thoughts piquant, and his style animated and often eloquent.

- (29.) "*Whims and Waifs*. By THOMAS HOOD. Now first collected." 12mo., pp., 479. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859.

Of course Hood is a favorite with his audience. While his great masterpiece, "The Song of the Shirt," is on the stage, we are in the crowd. When that is finished we step out, but leave a large and admiring residue behind.

- (30.) "*Poems*. By the Author of John Halifax." 16mo., pp. 270. Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

The poems of Miss Muloch have been favorites with a large circle of readers. This collection of them in one of Ticknor & Fields' *russets* will be very acceptable both to them and a wider public.

- (31.) "*Essays Critical and Miscellaneous*. By T. BABINGTON MACAULAY. New and Revised Edition." 8vo., pp. 745. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

The greatest master over the power of our English language to express practical human thought, that ever wrought its syllables, has gone to Westminster Abbey. In clearness, brilliancy, and perfectness of expression no writer ever surpassed Macaulay. No writer was ever more purely secular. Ignoring the depths below, and the heights above, his mind had a rare, clear sight in the horizontal direction. These great essays stand alone in English literature, and will maintain their position during a human "*forever*."

- (32.) "*Plato's Apology and Crito*; with Notes. By W. S. TAYLER GRAVES, Professor of Greek in Amherst College." 12mo., pp. 180. Appleton & Co. 1860.

We know nothing more suitable, in all the remains of classical antiquity, for Collegiate use than these beautiful pieces. The work of the editor is performed with the fine taste of a genuine classical scholar, and the practical skill of a master in his profession as an instructor.

- (33.) "*Æschylus ex novissima recensione* FREDERICI A. PALEY. Accessit verborum quæ præcipue notanda sunt et nominum index." 24mo., pp. 272. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

- (34.) "*Quinti Horatii Flacci, Opera omnia, ex recensione* A. J. MACLEANE." 24mo., pp. 211. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

These neat classics, the first, we presume, of a series, will be very welcome to our American scholars. They are somewhat after the manner of the Leipsic editions. We trust that the demand will amply sustain the publishers in furnishing to the public the entire body of the best classical literature in the present style.

VII.—Periodicals.

- (35.) "*The Household Magazine*. January 1, 1860. Monthly. Rev. S. H. PLATT, Editor." 12mo., pp. 32. E. Goodenough, 122 Nassau-street.

A new magazine, containing matter selected and original. It purposes to sustain a high intellectual and religious character. Its external execution is neat and attractive. Among its topics much attention is to be paid to sacred geography, a matter sadly and unwisely neglected by the great body of Scripture readers as well as Sunday-school instructors. The accuracy of the sacred writers in geographical details is a striking proof of their truthfulness in narration. A thorough knowledge of sacred geography gives to the mind a new interest in sacred history.

VIII.—Juvenile.

- "*Glen Morris Stories*. Dick Duncan, the Story of a Boy who loved Mischief, and how he was cured of his Evil Habit. By FRANCIS FORRESTER, Esq., Author of 'My Uncle Toby's Library.'" 16mo., pp. 256. New York: Howe & Ferry. 1860.

Francis Forrester has a high reputation with boy America. Our youthful home population has been specially eager for his "next book."

- "*The Florence Stories*. By JACOB ABBOTT. Florence and John." 24mo., pp. 252. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

- "*Little Songs for Little People*. With numerous Illustrations." 16mo., pp. 256. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

- "*The Christmas Party, and other Stories*. For Boys and Girls. By RENA RAY. Four Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 272. New York: Carlton & Porter.

- "*Facts about Girls*, for Girls. Being a Selection of Interesting and Instructive Anecdotes for Girls. By Rev. RICHARD DONKERSLEY. Six Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 220. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

- "*John Wheeler's Two Uncles*; or, Launching into Life. A Story for Boys. Three Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 134. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Margaret Mazham*. A Book for Young Ladies. By MARIANNA H. BLISS, Author of 'Little Tiger Lily,' etc. Three Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 144. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*The Young Gold Seeker*, and other Authentic Sketches. A Book for Youth. By Mrs. MARY JANE PHILLIPS, Author of 'Pearls for the Little Ones,' etc. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 132. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Bible Pictures for Children*. Six Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 108. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Sweet Corabelle*, and other Authentic Sketches. A Book for Youth. By Mrs. MARY JANE PHILLIPS, Author of 'Pearls for the Little Ones,' etc. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 164. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Little Things for Little Folks*. By Mrs. MARY JANE PHILLIPS, Author of 'Pearls for the Little Ones,' 'Home Scenes,' 'Casket of Gems,' etc. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 132. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*The Gold Dollar*, and *The Dark Shadow*. By Mrs. H. B. STEELE." 18mo., pp. 57. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Myra*; or, A Grandmother's Story of her Early Days. By Mrs. C. M. EDWARDS. Two Illustrations." 18mo., pp. 147. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

"*Little May*; or, Of what Use am I? By the Author of 'Rosa's Childhood,' etc." 18mo., pp. 191. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

IX.—Miscellaneous.

"*The Satires of Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicius, and Lucullus*. Literally Translated into English Prose, with Notes, Chronological Tables, Arguments, etc. By the Rev. LEWIS EVANS, M. A., late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford To which is added the Metrical Version of Juvenal and Persius. By the late WILLIAM GIFFORD, Esq." 12mo., pp. 512. New York: Harper & Brothers

"*Notes on Nursing*: What it is and what it is not. By FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE." 12mo., pp. 140. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

Miss Nightingale truly remarks, that "at one time or another of her life every woman is a nurse." It is still more strictly true, that at one time or other every man, whether he condescends to remember it or not, has been nursed. We doubt not that for either party Florence Nightingale will prove an unrivalled authority.

"*Friends in Council*. A Series of Readings and Discourses thereon. A New Series, reprinted from the English Edition." 12mo., pp. 242. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1859.

The "friends" discuss a variety of topics in a very easy and leisurely way. The language is pure, graceful, idiomatic English; the thoughts are refined, often subtle, and always, we believe, favorable to the cause of humanity. The characters and dialogues are well wrought, a pleasant narrative being therewith intertwined.

"*The Life of Daniel Wilson, D.D.*, Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India. By JOSIAH BATEMAN, M.A., Rector of North Gray, Kent, his son-in-law, and Chaplain. With Portrait, Map, and Illustrations." 8vo., pp. 760. Boston: Gould and Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1860.

This memoir, of a most pious and accomplished prelate, is a rare contribution to the religious biography of the English Church and of the Church universal.

"*Lectures on the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians.* By JOHN LILLIE, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Kingston, N. Y." 8vo., pp. 585, Carter & Brothers. 1860.

A work attempting the difficult task of uniting fundamental exegesis with popular lecture, by an author amply able to do either alone.

"*Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan, in the years 1857, 1858, 1859.* By LAWRENCE OLIPHANT, Esq., Private Secretary to Lord Elgin." 8vo., pp. 645. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

A magnificent volume; done in the Harpers' best style.

"*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress, from 1789 to 1856.* From Gales and Seaton's Annals of Congress; from their Register of Debates; and from the official reported Debates, by John C. Rives. By the Author of the 'Thirty Years' View.' Vol. XIII." 8vo., pp. 806. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

"*Hits at American Whims and Hints for Home Use.* By FREDERIC W. SAWYER, Author of 'A Plea for Amusements.' 12mo., pp. 276. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

"*The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D., late Head Master of Rugby School.* By ARTHUR P. STANLEY. In Two Volumes. Vol. II., third American from last edition." 12mo., pp. 400. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

"*The Word of the Spirit to the Church.*" 12mo., pp. 86. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1859.

"*The Still Hour; or, Communion with God.* By AUSTIN PHELPS, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary." 24mo., pp. 136. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard.

"*A Guide to the Knowledge of Life, Vegetable and Animal.* Being a comprehensive Manual of Physiology, viewed in relation to the maintenance of Health. By ROBERT JAMES MANN, M.D.. Revised and corrected." 12mo., pp. 417. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1860.

"*The Words of a Risen Saviour, and Commentary on the Epistle of St. James.* By ROBERT STIER, Doctor of Theology. Translated by the Rev. WILLIAM B. POPE, Manchester." 8vo., pp. 501. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co.; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852.

"*Prenticeana; or, Wit and Humor in Paragraphs.* By the Editor of the Louisville Journal." 12mo., pp. 316. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860.

"*The Bible by itself.* An Address delivered in the Madison Square Presbyterian Church at the Thirtieth Anniversary of the New York Bible Society, November 27, 1859. By WILLIAM ALLEN BUTLER." 16mo., pp. 22. New York: Robert Carter & Brother. 1860.

"*Commerce and Christianity.* A Premium Essay. By Rev. HOLLIS READ, Author of 'God in History.' With an Introduction by Rev. HENRY A. BOARDMAN, D.D., Philadelphia." 16mo., pp. 150. Pennsylvania Seamen's Friend Society.

"*Wolfe of the Knoll, and other Poems.* By Mrs. GEORGE P. MARSH." 12mo., pp. 327. New York: Charles Scribner; London: Sampson Low & Co. 1860.

"*Life among the Choctaw Indians, and Sketches of the Southwest.* By HENRY C. BENSON, A.M. With an Introduction by Rev. T. A. MORRIS, D.D., Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church." 12mo., pp. 314. Cincinnati: L. Swormstedt & Poe. 1860.

"*The Marble Faun; or, The Romance of Monte Beni.* By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE." 2 vols. 16mo., pp. 283, 284. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

"*Holmly House.* A Tale of Old Northamptonshire. By C. J. WHYTE MELVILLE, Author of 'Kate Coventry,' etc." 8vo., pp. 324. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

"*Loss and Gain; or, Margaret's Home.* By ALICE B. HAVEN." 12mo., pp. 319. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

"*Lucy Clifton.* By the Author of 'The Days of My Life,' etc., etc." 12mo., pp. 222. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

"*The Diary of a Samaritan.* By a Member of the Howard Association of New Orleans." 12mo., pp. 324. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

"*Highways of Travel; or, A Summer in Europe.* By MARGARET J. M. LEVERET, Author of 'Ethel's Love-life.'" 12mo., pp. 364. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

"*The Life and Times of Gen. Sam. Dale, the Mississippi Partisan.* Illustrated by JOHN M'LENAN. Edited by J. F. H. CLAIBORNE." New York: Harper & Brothers.

"*Life in Spain.* Past and Present. By WALTER THORNBURY, Author of 'Every Man his own Trumpeter.' With Illustrations." 12mo., pp. 388. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

"*The Power of Jesus Christ to save unto the uttermost.* By the Rev. A. J. CAMPBELL." 12mo., pp. 329. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

"*Isaac T. Hopper.* A true Life. By L. MARIA CHILD. Twelfth Thousand." 12mo., pp. 493. Boston: Jewett & Co. 1860.

"*The Story of a Pocket Bible.* A Book for all Classes of Readers. Ten Illustrations." 16mo., pp. 412. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

X.—Announcements.

PROFESSOR SCHEM, of Dickinson College, proposes to publish *The American Ecclesiastical Year Book*, containing: 1. The Religious Statistics of the World during the past year, with many other specialities; 2. A brief Religious History of the World during the past year; 3. A list of works bearing on Religious Statistics, or current Ecclesiastical History. The continuous work is intended to be an Annual, presenting every successive year the Religious Statistics of the World. Professor Schem has for some years furnished the readers of our Quarterly with a proof of his ability and mastery of this department. No man of the age is probably better accomplished for the work.

Dr. NAST's *Commentary* will, we trust, prove a great aid to our German ministry and laity, not only as an exegetical and practical exposition, but as a valuable production in apologetic literature. His work is constructed upon an original plan and a noble scale, and will stand, we believe, a permanent monument of the industry and ability of the author.

Dr. GEORGE PECK has in press a *History of the Origin and Early Progress of Methodism in New York*, between the Hudson and the Erie, including also the Northern range of Pennsylvania. It will derive interest, both from original documents and from the personal reminiscences of the author. This, together with the *History of New Jersey Methodism*, by Mr. Atkinson, will constitute a large and valuable accession to our denominational annals.